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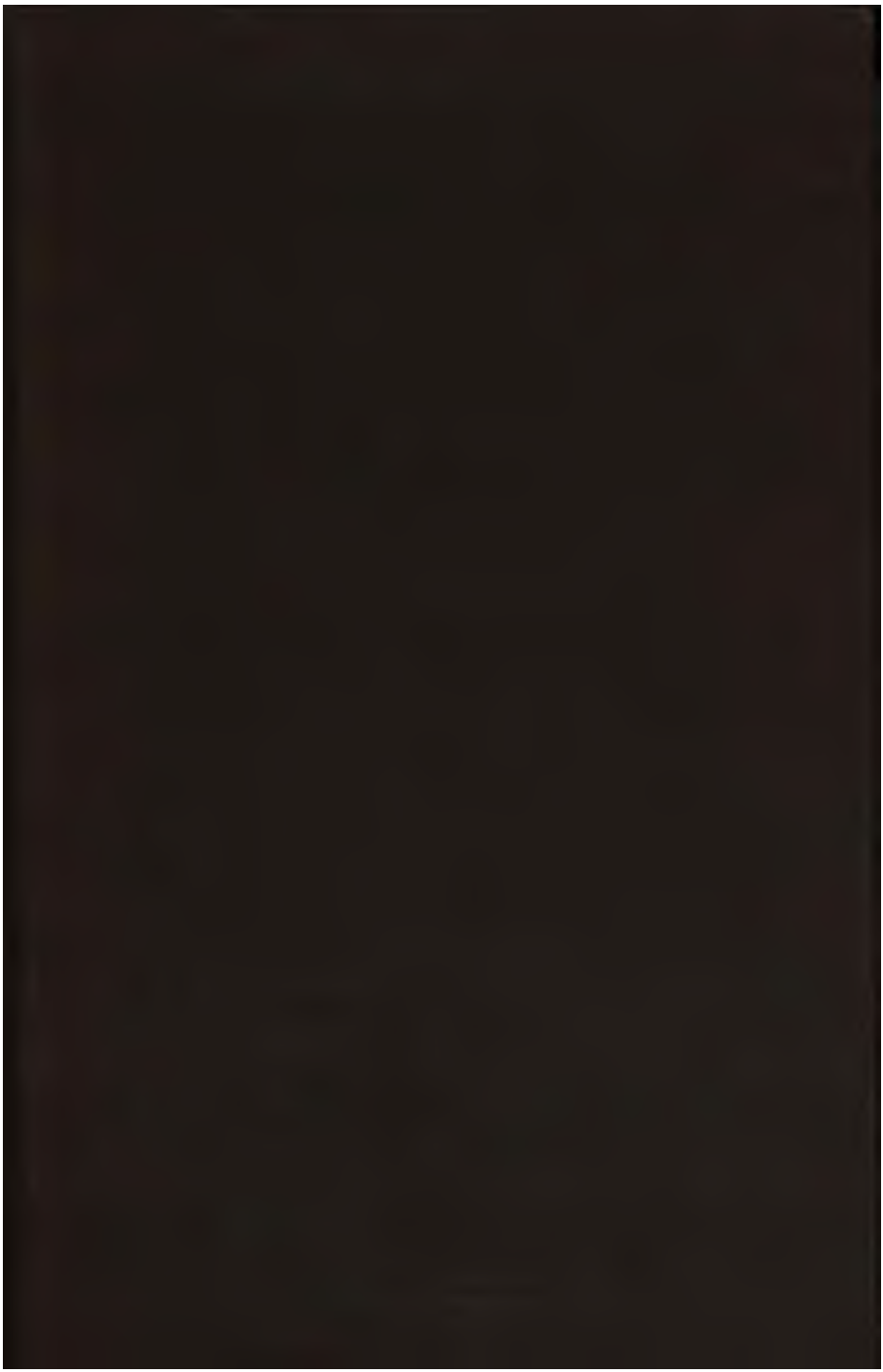

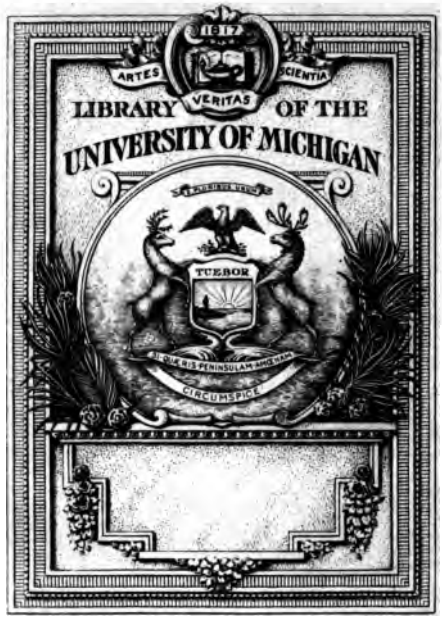

THE GIFT OF
Mrs.H.E.Beman

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B96

SPECIMENS

OF

English Prose-Writers,

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE CLOSE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY,

WITH

SKETCHES BIOGRAPHICAL AND LITERARY,

INCLUDING

AN ACCOUNT OF BOOKS

AS WELL AS OF THEIR AUTHORS;

WITH

OCCASIONAL CRITICISMS, &c.

BY GEORGE BURNETT,

Late of Baliol College, Oxford.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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SPECIMENS, &c.

Charles I. and Commonwealth.

SPECIMENS, &c.

CHARLES I. AND COMMONWEALTH.

The commotions of this reign, both civil and ecclesiastical, gave birth to the larger and more valuable portion of its prose literature. Polemics still continued, though they received in part a new direction. According to Wood, it was a common practice with the students of Oxford, at this period, to seize all opportunities of wrangling, in order to prepare themselves, by habitual disputation, for those more serious controversies, in which they expected to be afterwards engaged. The absurd attempt of Laud to establish an uniformity of religious worship in the three kingdoms, gave great

umbrage to the Scots and Puritans, and engendered much polemical bitterness. It were endless even to enumerate the productions which teemed from the press, on most of the topics of controversial theology; nor would it be very edifying to dwell on the cant of the pulpit, and the declamations of party.

But the most important theologic dispute was the old one between the Catholics and Protestants; and which probably originated in the favour shewn in this and the preceding reign to the Jesuitical priests. Many of these were allowed to reside in Oxford or its vicinity; and they seized, with their characteristic zeal and activity, all opportunities of making converts among the students, many of whom they contrived to decoy to the Jesuitical colleges abroad. In this manner, the famous Chillingworth, subsequently the redoubted champion of the Protestants, was enticed to the college at Douay, by the Jesuit Fisher, *alias* Perse.

Moral, political, and metaphysical philosophy, obtained a precision and clearness unknown before. The minds of men, penetrated and disturbed by the dreadful evils which vexed their country, were naturally urged, in

the intervals of their alarm, to enquire deeply into their causes—to examine into the very foundations of society—that they may find a basis for a more secure and permanent fabric of social peace. But different minds, though probably called into activity by the same general circumstances, were led to different and even opposite principles, particularly in government. While Hobbes became the advocate of despotic rule, the more courageous and generous sentiments of Milton, of Harrington, and of Algernon Sidney, rendered them the champions of freedom. The same general causes produced also several historians of these tumultuous times.

Amidst this political confusion, the dramatic writers died away, and left no successors. When the troubles began, we ceased also to have any voyagers and travellers, who contributed very largely to the literary treasures of the two preceding reigns. There are probably fewer translations likewise of this date; and certainly fewer books of mere amusement. In fact, people had something else to do than read for amusement. It would be absurd to apply the epithet of *amusing* to Milton and Jeremy Taylor—be-

yond all doubt the noblest writers in the language. They both possess all the higher qualities of genius, sublimity of conception, richness, and splendor of imagination, unrivalled flow and copiousness of language. However little we may be able sometimes to sympathize with their opinions, considered philosophically, it is the rare excellence of these great authors, always to fill and occupy the soul.

Auto-biography was begun by lord Herbert of Cherbury; and continued by various religious enthusiasts, who commenced the practice of keeping diaries. Of these, I believe, archbishop Laud's is the first; and the custom has descended to Whitfield and Wesley of modern times.

Upon the whole, the literature of this reign (or rather these reigns) is very important; and posterity reaps the advantage of calamities, which no good mind would wish to see superinduced, even upon the most distant and barbarous portion of the globe.

HALL.

JOSEPH HALL, an eminent and learned divine, and successively bishop of Exeter and Norwich, was born July 1, 1574, at Ashby de la Zouch, in Leicestershire. Having received the rudiments of his education at his native place, he entered, at the age of fifteen, Emanuel College, Cambridge; of which he became a Fellow.

After continuing about seven years at college, he was presented by sir Robert Drure, to the rectory of Halsted in Suffolk. In 1605, he accompanied sir Edward Bacon to the Spa; in which journey he had an opportunity of observing for himself the state and practices of the Romish Church; and at Brussels he had a conference with Coster the Jesuit.

On his return he obtained the donative of Waltham-Holy-Cross, in Essex; and about the same time, 1612, took the degree of Doctor of Divinity, having been a little before made chaplain to prince Henry. His next preferment was to a Prebend in the collegiate church of Wolverhampton; and while absent in France, attending on the embassy of lord Hay, in 1616, he had the Deanery of Worcester conferred upon him. The year following, he attended his majesty into Scotland as one of his chaplains; and in 1618 was one of the English divines who attended the synod of Dort. He was raised in 1627, to the see of Exeter; from which, in 1641, he was translated to the see of Norwich.

Hall was of the number of those bishops who, on the 30th of December of the same year, joined in the protestation against the validity of all laws made during their forced absence from parliament. In consequence of which, he with the rest was sent to the Tower; and was released only on giving 5000l. bail, when he withdrew to Norwich. In 1643, the order was issued for sequestering notorious delinquents, among whom his name was included, and he was now reduced to great dis-

tress, living only on a very small allowance from the parliament. He died in 1656, at an inconsiderable village near Norwich, in his eighty-second year.

1. Bishop Hall was one of the antagonists of Milton in controversial theology. At the beginning of the troubles, he wrote several tracts in favour of episcopacy. The first of these was entitled, " Episcopacy by Divine Right asserted." London, 1640, 4to. This treatise was occasioned by the circumstance of G. Graham, bishop of the Orkneys, openly renouncing his episcopal function before the assembly of the clergy of Edinburgh, and craving their pardon for having accepted it.

2. Not long after, he published another tract in support of the liturgy and episcopacy. This was entitled " An humble Remonstrance to the High Court of Parliament, by a dutiful Son of the Church." London, 1640, 4to. To this an answer appeared the following year, by *Smectymnuus*, a fictitious name, composed of the initial letters of the christian and surnames of the five following persons, the real authors, viz: Stephen Marshall, Edmund Calamey, Thomas Young, Mathew Newcomen, and William Spurstow. It was called " An

Answer to a Book entitled 'An humble Remonstrance.' In which the Original of Liturgy and Episcopacy is discussed; and Quæries propounded concerning both," &c. London, 1641, 4to.

3. In reply to *Smectymnuus*, the bishop published the same year, "A Defence of the humble Remonstrance against the frivolous and false Exceptions of *Smectymnuus*; wherein the Right of Liturgy and Episcopacy is clearly vindicated from the vain cavils and challenges of the Answerers. Seconded (in way of appendance) with the judgment of the famous Divine of the Palatinate, Abrahamus Scultetus, late Professor of Divinity in the University of Heidelberg; concerning the Divine Right of Episcopacy, and the No-right of Lay-eldership." London, 1641. *Smectymnuus* again rejoined in "A Vindication of the Answer to the humble Remonstrance, from the unjust Imputation of Frivolousness and Falsehood; wherein the cause of the Liturgy and Episcopacy is further debated." London, 1641. Hall concluded the dispute by "A short Answer to the tedious Vindication of *Smectymnuus*, by the Author of the humble Remonstrance." London, 1641, 4to.

On this occasion Milton wrote his two tracts; 1. Animadversions upon the Remonstrant's Defence against *Smectymnuus*. 2. An Apology for *Smectymnuus*.

It should be observed, that in this controversy the bishop shews greater moderation and urbanity of language than any of his antagonists.

It were needless to particularize any more of the writings of bishop Hall, since his works complete have lately been thought deserving of republication. They are comprised in 10 vols. 8vo. 1806.

As controversial theology cannot be supposed very interesting to the generality of readers, particularly on topics which have lost much of their former interest, I shall not select any passages from the treatises abovementioned. Perhaps a few extracts from the bishop's "Occasional Meditations," will be thought to exhibit as fair a specimen of his characteristic qualities as a writer and as a man, as any extracts that could be chosen. Hall has been stiled the Christian Seneca, from his sententious manner of writing, and from the particular resemblance of his "Meditations," to "Seneca's Morals."

Upon the Sight of a Tree full-blossomed.

Here is a tree overlaid with blossoms; it is not possible that all these should prosper; one of them must needs rob the other of moisture and growth; I do not love to see an infancy over-hopeful; in these pregnant beginnings one faculty starves another, and at last leaves the mind sapless and barren; as therefore we are wont to pull off some of the too frequent blossoms, that the rest may thrive; so, it is good wisdom to moderate the early excess of the parts, or progress of over-forward childhood. Neither is it otherwise in our Christian profession; a sudden and lavish ostentation of grace may fill the eye with wonder, and the mouth with talk, but will not at the last fill the lap with fruit.

Let me not promise too much, nor raise too high expectations of my undertakings; I had rather men should complain of my small hopes, than of my short performances.

Upon Occasion of a Red-breast coming into his Chamber.

Pretty bird, how chearfully dost thou sit and sing, and yet knowest not where thou art, nor where thou shalt make thy next meal; and at night must shrowd thyself in a bush for lodging! What a shame is it

for me, that see before me so liberal provisions of my God, and find myself sit warm under my own roof, yet am ready to droop under a distrustful and unthankful dulness. Had I so little certainty of my harbour and purveyance, how heartless should I be, how careful; how little list should I have to make music to thee or myself. Surely thou comest not hither without a Providence. God sent thee not so much to delight, as to shame me, but all in a conviction of my sullen unbelief, who, under more apparent means, am less chearful and confident; reason and faith have not done so much in me, as in thee mere instinct of nature; want of foresight makes thee more merry, if not more happy here, than the foresight of better things maketh me.

O God, thy providence is not impaired by those powers thou hast given me above these brute things; let not my greater helps hinder me from an holy security, and comfortable reliance on thee.

Upon the kindling of a Charcoal Fire.

There are not many creatures but do naturally affect to diffuse and enlarge themselves; fire and water will neither of them rest contented with their own bounds; those little sparks that I see in those coals, how they spread and enkindle their next brands.

It is thus morally both in good and evil; either of them dilates itself to their neighbourhood; but especially this is so much more apparent in evil, by how much we are more apt to take it. Let but some spark of heretical opinion be let fall upon some unstable, proud, busy spirit, it catcheth instantly; and fires the next capable subject; they two have easily inflamed a third; and now the more society the more speed and advantage of a public combustion. When we see the church on a flame, it is too late to complain of the flint and steel; it is the holy wisdom of superiors to prevent the dangerous attritions of stubborn and wrangling spirits; or to quench their first sparks in the tinder.

But, why should not grace and truth be as successful in dilating itself to the gaining of many hearts? Certainly these are in themselves more winning, if our corruption had not made us indisposed to good: O God, out of an holy envy and emulation at the speed of evil, I shall labour to enkindle others with these heavenly flames; it shall not be my fault if they spread not.

Upon the Sight of two Snails.

There is much variety even in creatures of the same kind. See there, two snails; one hath an house, the

other wants it; yet both are snails, and it is a question whether case is the better: that which hath an house hath more shelter, but that which wants it hath more freedom; the privilege of that cover is but a burthen; you see if it hath but a stone to climb over, with what stress it draws up that beneficial load; and if the passage prove strait, finds no entrance; whereas the empty snail makes no difference of way. Surely, it is always an ease and sometimes an happiness to have nothing; no man is so worthy of envy as he that can be cheerful in want.

Upon hearing of Music by Night.

How sweetly doth this music sound in this dead season! In the day time it would not, it could not so much affect the ear. All harmonious sounds are advanced by a silent darkness; thus it is with the glad tidings of salvation; the gospel never sounds so sweet as in the night of preservation, or of our own private affliction; it is ever the same, the difference is in our disposition to receive it. O God, whose praise it is to give songs in the night, make my prosperity conscionable, and my crosses cheerful.

Upon the shutting of One Eye.

When we would take aim or see most exquisitely, we shut one eye: thus must we do with the eyes of our soul; when we would look most accurately with the eye of faith, we must shut the eye of reason; else the visual beams of these two apprehensions, will be crossing each other, and hinder our clear discerning; yea, rather let me pull out this right eye of reason, than it shall offend me in the interruptions of mine happy visions of God.

Upon the Sight of an Owl in the Twilight.

What a strange melancholic life doth this creature lead; to hide her head all the day long in an ivy bush, and at night, when all other birds are at rest, to fly abroad, and vent her harsh notes. I know not why the ancients have *sacred* this bird to wisdom, except it be for her safe closeness, and singular perspicuity; that when other domestical and airy creatures are blind, she only hath inward light, to discern the least objects for her own advantage. Surely thus much wit they have taught us in her; that he is the wisest man that would have least to do with the multitude; that no life is so safe as the abscure; that no retiredness, if it have less comfort,

yet less danger and vexation; lastly, that he is truly wise who sees by a light of his own, when the rest of the world sit in an ignorant and confused darkness, unable to apprehend any truth, save by the helps of an outward illumination.

Had this fowl come forth in the day time, how had all the little birds flocked wondering about her, to see her uncouth visage, to hear her untuned notes; she likes her estate never the worse, but pleaseth herself in her own quiet reservedness; it is not for a wise man to be much affected with the censures of the rude and unskilful vulgar, but to hold fast unto his own well-chosen and well-fixed resolutions; every fool knows what is wont to be done; but what is best to be done, is known only to the wise.

Upon the Sight of a Great Library.

What a world of wit is here packed up together! I know not whether this sight doth more dismay or comfort me; it dismays me to think, that here is so much that I cannot know; it comforts me to think that this variety yields so good helps to know what I should. There is no truer word than that of Solomon—there is no end of making many books; this sight verifies it; there is no end; indeed, it were pity there should; God hath given to man a busy

soul; the agitation whereof cannot but through time and experience work out many hidden truths; to suppress these would be no other than injurious to mankind; whose minds, like unto so many candles, should be kindled by each other: the thoughts of our deliberation are most accurate; these we vent into our papers; what an happiness is it, that, without all offence of necromancy, I may here call up any of the ancient worthies of learning, whether human or divine, and confer with them of all my doubts! that I can at pleasure summon whole synods of reverend fathers, and acute doctors from all the coasts of the earth, to give their well-studied judgments in all points of question which I propose! Neither can I cast my eye casually upon any of these silent masters, but I must learn somewhat: it is a wantonness to complain of choice.

No law binds me to read all; but the more we can take in and digest, the better-liking must the mind's needs be; blessed be God that hath set up so many clear lamps in his church.

Now none but the wilfully blind can plead darkness; and blessed be the memory of those his faithful servants, that have left their blood, their spirits, their lives in these precious papers; and have willingly wasted themselves into these during monuments, to give light unto others.

Upon Moats in the Sun.

How these little moats move up and down in the sun, and never rest, whereas the great mountains stand ever still, and move not but with an earthquake; even so light and busy spirits are in continual agitation, to little purpose; while great deep wits sit still, and stir not, but upon extreme occasions: were the motion of these little atoms as useful as it is restless, I had rather be a moat than a mountain.

Upon a Man sleeping.

I do not more wonder at any man's art than at his, who professes to think of nothing to do nothing: and I do not a little marvel at that man who says he can sleep without a dream; for the mind of man is a restless thing; and though it give the body leave to repose itself, as knowing it is a mortal and earthly piece, yet itself being a spirit, and therefore active, and indefatigable, is ever in motion: give me a sea that moves not, a sun that shines not, an open eye that sees not; and I shall yield there may be a reasonable soul that works not. It is possible that through a natural or accidental stupidity, a man may not perceive his own thoughts; (as sometimes the

eye or ear may be distracted, not to discern his own objects) but in the mean time he thinks that, whereof he cannot give an account; like as we many times dream when we cannot report our fancy. I should more easily put myself to school unto that man, who undertakes the profession of thinking many things at once: instantany motions are more proper for a spirit than a dull rest. Since my mind will needs be ever working, it shall be my care, that it may always be well employed.

HERBERT.

EDWARD HERBERT, baron of Cherbury in Shropshire, an eminent statesman and writer, was descended of an ancient family, and born at Montgomery Castle, in Wales, in 1581. He was admitted gentleman commoner of University College, Oxford, at the age of fourteen; but left college without a degree. He then set out on his travels, applied himself to military exercises, and returned an accomplished gentleman.

On occasion of the promotions preparatory to the coronation of James I. he was created Knight of the Bath; and was subsequently one of the council of his majesty for military affairs. About 1616, he was sent ambassador to Louis XIII. king of France, to mediate

the relief of the protestants there; whence he was recalled in 1621, by reason of a dispute between him and the constable De Luines. In 1625, he was created an Irish Baron, and also Baron Herbert of Cherbury, in Shropshire. Siding with the parliament during the civil wars, his castle of Montgomery was demolished by the royalists; for which, however, he afterwards received a compensation from the republican party, 1644. He survived this but a few years; dying at his house in London, 1648.

1. His most celebrated work was written in Latin, and entitled, *De Veritate, prout distinguitur a Revelatione, a verisimili, a possibili, et a falso; cui operi additi sunt duo alii tractatus primus de causis errorum, alter de religione laici, cum appendice ad sacerdotes, necnon quibusdam poematibus.* The object of this treatise is, to establish the authority and sufficiency of natural religion, in opposition to revelation. It was first printed at Paris in 1624, and again in 1633; and in London, 1645, 4to.

At the request of Peirescius and Elias Diodati, this work was replied to by Gassendi, who sent a copy of the answer in MS. (for it was not published) to lord Herbert, which,

however, he did not receive. But in 1647, the latter paying Gassendi a visit, another copy was taken, which his lordship brought to England. It was afterwards published in Gassendi's works, under the title of *Ad Librum D. Edvardi Herberti Angli de Veritate Epistola;* but it is imperfect, some sheets of the original being lost.

2. The same year he published, *De Religione Gentilium eorumque apud eos Causis.* This book was afterwards translated into English, and printed in 1705, entitled, "The Ancient Religion of the Gentiles, and Cause of their Errors considered."

3. The work, however, which chiefly entitles lord Herbert to be ranked in the present list of writers, is his History of the Life and Reign of Henry VIII. first published in 1649, folio.

In speaking of the origin of the reformation in England, he notices the severity of invective employed by the members of the House of Commons against the avarice, the ambition, and various encroachments of the clergy. The substance of one of these speeches is preserved by lord Herbert; and it is marked by a freedom of sentiment we should scarcely

expect from the superstition of the age. In the House of Lords, Fischer, bishop of Rochester, was foremost in opposing all innovation; and scrupled not to affirm, that the motives of the Commons, in their proposed regulations, originated in their want of faith, their being infected with the Lutheran heresy, in their wish to rob the church of her just patrimony, and to introduce a new order of things. The orator replies to the good bishop in these terms:

If none else but the bishop of Rochester or his adherents did hold this language, it would less trouble me. But since so many religious and different sects (now conspicuous in the whole world) do not only vindicate unto themselves the name of the true church, but labour betwixt invitations and threats for nothing more than to make us resign our faith to a simple obedience; I shall crave leave to propose, what I think fit (in this case) for no laics and secular persons to do. Not that I will make my opinions a rule to others when any better expedient shall be offered; but that I would be glad we considered hereof, as the greatest affair that now or hereafter may concern us.

For if in all human actions it be hard to find that medium or even temper which may keep us from de-

clining into extremes, it will be much more difficult in religious worship; both as the path is supposed narrower, and the precipices more dangerous on every side. And because each man is created by God a free citizen of the world, and obliged to nothing so much as the inquiry of those means by which he may attain his everlasting happiness, it will be fit to examine to whose tuition and conduct he commit himself. For as several teachers, not only differing in language, habit, and ceremony, (or at least in some of these) but peremptory and opposite in their doctrines, present themselves, much circumspection must be used. Here then taking his prospect, he shall find these guides directing him to several ways; whereof the first yet extends no further than to the laws and religions of each man's native soil or diocese, without passing those bounds. The second reaching much further, branches itself into that diversity of religions and philosophies, that not only are, but have been extant in former times, until he be able to determine which is best. But in either of these, no little difficulties will occur. For, if each man ought to be secure of all that is taught at home, without enquiring further, how can he answer his conscience? When looking abroad, the terrors of everlasting damnation shall be denounced on him, by the several hierarchies and visible churches of the world, if he believe any doctrine but theirs. And

that, amongst these again, such able and understanding persons may be found, as, in all other affairs, will equal his teachers. Will it be fit that he believe, God hath inspired his church and religion only, and deserted the rest; when yet mankind is so much of one offspring, that it hath not only the same *Pater Communis* in God, but is come all from the same carnal ancestors? Shall each man, without more examination, believe his priests in what religion soever, and, when he hath done, call their doctrine his faith? On the other side, if he must argue controversies before he can be satisfied, how much leisure must he obtain? How much wealth and substance must he consume? How many languages must he learn? And how many authors must he read? How many ages must he look into? How many faiths must he examine? How many expositions must he confer? And how many contradictions reconcile? How many countries must he wander into? And how many dangers must he run? Briefly, would not our life on these terms be a perpetual peregrination? While each man posted into the other's country, to learn the way to heaven, without yet that he could say at last, he had known or tried all. What remains then to be done? Must he take all that each priest upon pretence of inspiration would teach him, because it might be so; or may he leave all, because it might be otherwise? Certainly, to embrace all religions, according

to their various and repugnant rites, tenets, traditions, and faiths, is impossible, when yet in one age it were possible (after incredible pains and expences) to learn out, and number them. On the other side, to reject all religions is as impious; there being no nation, that in some kind or other doth not worship God. So that there will be a necessity to distinguish. Not yet that any man will be able, upon comparison, to discern which is the perfectest among the many professed in the whole world; (each of them being of that large extent, that no man's understanding will serve to comprehend it in its uttermost latitude and signification,) but (at least,) that every man might vindicate and sever, in his particular religion, the more essential and demonstrative parts from the rest, without being moved so much at the threats and promises of any other religion, that would make him obnoxious, as to depart from this way; there being no ordinary method so intelligible, ready, and compendious for the conducting each man to his desired end. Having thus therefore recollected himself, and together implored the assistance of that supreme God, whom all nations acknowledge; he must labour in the next place to find out what inward means his Providence hath delivered, to discern the true not only from the false, but even from the likely and possible; each of them requiring a peculiar scrutiny and consideration. Neither shall he fly

thus to particular reason, which may soon lead him to heresy; but after a due separation of the more doubtful and controverted parts, shall hold himself to common authentic and universal truths, and consequently inform himself what, in the several articles proposed to him, is so taught, as it is first written in the heart, and together delivered in all the laws and religions he can hear of in the whole world; for this certainly can never deceive him, since therein he shall find out how far the impressions of God's wisdom and goodness are extant in all mankind, and to what degrees his universal Providence hath dilated itself: while thus ascending to God by the same steps he descends to us, he cannot fail to encounter the Divine Majesty. Neither ought it to trouble him, if he find these truths variously complicated with difficulties or errors; since, without insisting on more points than what are clearly agreed, on every side, it will be his part to reduce them into method and order; which also is not hard, they being but few, and apt for connexion; so that it will concern our several teachers to initiate us in this doctrine, before they come to any particular direction; lest otherwise they do like those who would persuade us to renounce day-light, to study only by their candle: it will be worth the labour, assuredly, to inquire how far these universal notions will guide us, before we commit ourselves to any of their ob-

struse and scholastic mysteries, or supernatural and private revelations. Not yet, but that they also may challenge a just place in our belief, when they are delivered upon warrantable testimony, but that they cannot be understood as so indifferent and unfallible principles for the instruction of all mankind. Thus, among many supposed inferior and questionable deities, worshipped in the four quarters of the world, we shall find one chief so taught us, as above others to be highly reverenced.

Among many rites, ceremonies, and volumes, &c. delivered us as instruments or parts of his worship, we shall find virtue so eminent as it alone concludes and sums up the rest. Insomuch as there is no sacrament which is not finally resolved into it; good life, charity, faith in, and love of God, being such necessary and essential parts of religion, that all the rest are finally closed and determined in them.

Among the many expiations, lustrations, and propitiations for our sins taught in the several quarters of the world, in sundry times, we shall find that none doth avail without hearty sorrow for our sins, and a true repentance towards God, whom we have offended.

And lastly, amidst the divers places and manners of reward and punishment, which former ages have delivered, we shall find God's justice and mercy not so limited but that he can extend either of them even

beyond death, and consequently recompence or chastise eternally. These therefore, as universal and undoubted truths, should in my opinion be first received. They will at least keep us from impiety and atheism, and together lay a foundation for God's service; and the hope of a better life. Besides, it will reduce men's minds from uncertain and controverted points, to a solid practice of virtue; or when we fall from it to an unfeigned repentance, and purpose through God's grace to amend our sinful life, without making pardon so easy, cheap, or mercenary, as some of them do. Lastly, it will dispose us to a general concord and peace: for when we are agreed concerning these eternal causes and means of our salvation, why should we so much differ for the rest? since as these principles exclude nothing of faith or tradition, in what age or manner soever it intervened, each nation may be permitted the belief of any pious miracle that conduceth to God's glory; without that, on this occasion, we need to scandalize or offend each other; the common truths in religion formerly mentioned, being firmer bonds of unity, than that any thing emergent out of traditions (whether written or unwritten) should dissolve them. Let us, therefore, establish and fix these catholic or universal notions. They will not hinder us to believe whatsoever else is faithfully taught upon the authority of the church. So that whether the eastern, western, northern, or

southern teachers, &c. and particularly whether my lord of Rochester, Luther, Eccius, Zuinglius, Erasmus, Melancthon, &c. be in the right, we laics may so build upon those catholic and infallible grounds of religion, as whatsoever superstructures of faith be raised, these foundations yet may support them.

This work has deservedly obtained a high character. "Lord Herbert (says Nicholson) acquitted himself in this history with the like reputation as the lord chancellor Bacon gained by that of Henry VII. For in the public and martial part, this honourable author has been admirably particular and exact, from the best records that were extant; though as to the ecclesiastical, he seems to have looked upon it as a thing out of his province, and an undertaking more proper for men of another profession." This work is said to have been written at the request of Charles. Hence, the common sentiments of politeness towards his master, probably rendered the author more partial towards his hero, than any contemplation of his arbitrary character can justify.

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4. *Expeditio Buckinghami Ducis in Ream Insulam.* This tract was written in 1630, though not published till 1656.

5. His lordship was also a poet; and his poetry on occasional subjects was published in 1665, by his son Henry Herbert, dedicated to Edward lord Herbert, his grandson.

In respect of philosophical opinion, lord Herbert has been usually classed with Spinosa and Hobbes; with the latter of whom, he is known to have been upon terms of intimacy. But it appears, that he stopped short of the *ne-plus-ultra* scepticism of those distinguished philosophers; and that he was not only a confirmed theist, but was susceptible of no small degree of religious enthusiasm. Of this last assertion, the following anecdote from his own life will furnish a sufficient proof:

Being doubtful (says he) in my chamber one fine day in the summer, my casement being open towards the south, the sun shining clear, and no wind stirring, I took my book *De Veritate* in my hands, and kneeling on my knees, devoutly said these words —'O thou eternal God, author of this light which now shines upon me, and giver of all inward illuminations, I do beseech thee of thine infinite goodness to pardon a greater request than a sinner ought to

make. I am not satisfied enough, whether I shall publish this book; if it be for thy glory, I beseech thee give me some sign from heaven; if not I shall suppress it!—I had no sooner spoke these words, but a loud, though yet gentle noise, came forth from the heavens, for it was like nothing on earth, which did so cheer and comfort me, that I took my petition as granted, and that I had the sign I demanded; whereupon also I resolved to print my book. This, how strange soever it may seem, I protest before the eternal God is true; neither am I any way superstitiously deceived herein, since I did not only clearly hear the noise, but in the serenest sky I ever saw, being without all cloud, did, to my thinking, see the place from whence it came.

The life, whence the above extract was taken, was written by himself. It lay in MS. till 1792, when it was printed in a thin 4to. with a portrait; and it is remarkable as being the first instance of auto-biography.

Lord Herbert was a man of extensive knowledge, derived both from books and from observation. He was well versed in languages and in the theory of the liberal arts, and is justly ranked among the first philosophers of his time. To these valuable qualifications he superadded the spirit of a hero and the polish of a gentleman.

HOBBES.

THOMAS HOBBES, the philosopher of Malmsbury, was born at Malmsbury in Wiltshire, in 1588. His father was minister of that town. It is remarkable, that while his mother was pregnant, the Spanish *armada* was on the English coast, at which she was so much alarmed, that it induced a premature delivery.

Having attained to considerable proficiency at school in the learned languages, Hobbes entered, in 1603, at Magdalene-Hall, Oxford, whence, on the recommendation of the principal of that society, he was taken into the family of the right honourable William Cavendish, lord Hardwicke, (soon after created earl of Devonshire,) as preceptor to his son, William lord Cavendish, with whom, in 1610, he made the tour of France and Italy.

On his return from the continent, he became known to many persons of distinction, and particularly those who were distinguished for talents and learning. Lord Bacon admitted him to great familiarity; and it is said that Hobbes translated some parts of his lordship's works into Latin. He was likewise in high esteem with lord Herbert of Cherbury; and familiarly acquainted with Ben Jonson.

His patron, the earl of Devonshire, dying in 1626, and his son two years after, Hobbes accompanied the son of sir Gervase Clifton to France; but in 1631, his return was solicited by the countess dowager of Devonshire, to superintend the education of the young earl, then about the age of 13. In 1631, he accompanied his young pupil to Paris, where he employed his leisure in the study of mechanical philosophy; and particularly, bestowed much thought on the mechanism of animal motion. On such subjects, he had frequent conversations with father Mersenne, a man celebrated for his knowledge of the physical sciences.

Pursuing their travels to Italy, at Pisa, Hobbes became acquainted with Galileo, between whom and the English philosopher, there

took place the most unreserved and intimate communication.

In 1637, he returned with his pupil to England; but, on the meeting of the long parliament, Nov. 3, 1640, to escape the turbulence and confusion which prevailed, he retired again to Paris, where he now associated familiarly with those learned men, who were encouraged and protected by the patronage of Cardinal Richlieu. On this occasion it was, that he was introduced by his friend Mersenne to Des Cartes, with whom he afterwards corresponded on mathematical subjects; as appears by the letters of Hobbes, published in the works of Des Cartes. Hobbes was also on terms of the most intimate friendship with Gassendi, and which was interrupted only by the death of the latter.

In 1647, he became mathematical tutor to the prince of Wales, afterwards Charles II.; a situation he obtained in consequence of the reputation he had gained two years before, in having enlisted himself in the controversy about the quadrature of the circle. Charles, however, subsequently withdrew his countenance from him at the representations of the clergy, who were alarmed at the gigantic figure of the Le-

viathan, which appeared in 1550-1; but, on accidentally seeing him some years after, his majesty's regard for him returned, and he settled upon him a pension of one hundred pounds *per annum* from his privy purse.

At this period, he commonly passed his summers at Chatsworth, the seat of the earl of Devonshire, in Derbyshire, and his winters in town, where he associated with most of the greatest men of the age, among whom may be mentioned Dr. Harvey, Selden, and Cowley. As an instance of the high consideration in which Hobbes was held by his cotemporaries, he was visited, in 1669, by Cosmo de Medicis, then prince, and afterwards grand duke of Tuscany, who, among other marks of esteem and admiration, received his picture, with a complete collection of his works, which he caused to be reposited in his library at Florence. He died in 1679, at the great age of ninety-two years.

1. The first work given by Hobbes to the public, was his "Translation of Thucydides," first published in 1628. This was undertaken with the laudable desire of preventing those disturbances which he already apprehended, by shewing the fatal consequences of intestine di-

visions; and is still regarded as an excellent translation of that admirable historian; indeed, it has been affirmed to be the best translation of any Greek writer extant. It is of importance too, as it relates particularly to Hobbes; for, it is asserted by Dr. Tennison, (afterwards archbishop of Canterbury,) one of the ablest, as well as the most candid of Hobbes's antagonists, that he derived his fundamental maxims in politics from the oration of Euphemus, in the sixth book of the History of Thucydides.

2. His next work was his book *De Cive*, written in Latin, as an antidote to those democratical opinions which began now to prevail, and which he deemed subversive of all order and peace in society. He had the hope, too, that it might contribute to appease those popular discontents already kindled in Scotland, and which had begun to spread with inflammatory violence towards the south. Its Latin title was, *Elementa Philosophica de Cive. Auctore Thom. Hobbes, Malmesburiensis.* In the English translation, the more enlarged title is as follows: "Philosophical Rudiments concerning Government and Society; or, a Dissertation concerning Man in his several habitudes and respects, as the member of a society, first se-

cular and then sacred: containing the Elements of Civil Polity, in the agreement which it hath both with natural and divine laws; in which is demonstrated, both what the origin of Justice is, and wherein the Christian Religion doth consist; together with the natural limits and qualifications both of regimen and subjection." The book is dedicated to William earl of Devonshire, and the dedication is curious, as explaining by what train of reasoning he was led to these enquiries. It is valuable, too, as characteristic of the man, and of that philosophical spirit by which he was distinguished. After pointing out the great advantages which mathematicians derive from their skilful method of prosecuting their enquiries, he affirms, that the inferior success of moralists has arisen chiefly from their adopting a different and less perfect method:

For (says he) we may not as in a circle, begin the handling of a science from what point we please. There is a certain clue of reason, whose beginning is in the dark, but, by the benefit of whose conduct, we are led, as it were by the hand, into the clearest light; so that the principal of tractation is to be taken from that darkness, and then the light to be carried thither

for the irradiating its doubts. As often, therefore, as any writer doth either weakly forsake that clue, or wilfully cut it asunder, he describes the footsteps, not of his progress in science, but of his wanderings from it. And upon this it was, that when I applied my thoughts to the investigation of natural *justice*, I was presently advertised from the very word *justice*, which signifies a steady will to give every one his own; that my first enquiry was to be, from whence it proceeded that any man should call any thing rather his own than another man's; and when I found that this proceeded not from nature, but consent, for what nature at first laid forth in common, men did afterwards distribute into several impropriations; I was conducted from thence into another enquiry, namely, to what end, and upon what impulsives, when all was equally every man's in common, men did rather think it fitting that every man should have his inclosure; and I found the reason was, that from a community of goods, there must needs arise contention whose enjoyment should be greater, and from that contention all kind of calamities must unavoidably ensue, which, by the instinct of nature, every man is taught to shun. Having, therefore, thus arrived at two maxims of human nature, the one arising from the concupiscible part, which desires to appropriate to itself the use of those things in which all others have a joint interest; the other proceeding from the ra-

tional, which teaches every man to fly a contra-natural dissolution as the greatest mischief that can arrive to nature; which principals being laid down, I seem from them to have demonstrated by a most evident connection, in this little work of mine, first the absolute necessity of leagues and contracts, and thence the rudiments both of moral and civil prudence. That appendage, which is added, concerning the regimen of God, hath been done with this intent, that the dictates of God Almighty, in the law of nature, might not seem repugnant to the written law, revealed to us in his word. I have also been very wary in the whole tenor of my discourse, not to meddle with the civil laws of any particular nation whatsoever; that is to say, I have avoided coming on a shore which the times have so infested with shelves and tempests. At what expence of time and industry I have been, in this scrutiny after truth, I am not ignorant, but to what purpose I know not: for, being partial judges of ourselves, we lay a partial estimate upon our own productions. I therefore offer up this book to your lordship's, not favour, but censure; first, as having found, by many experiments, that it is not the credit of the author, nor the newness of the work, nor yet the ornament of the style, but only the weight of reason which recommends any opinion to your lordship's favour and approbation. If it fortune to please, that is to

say, if it be sound, if it be useful, if it be not vulgar, I humbly offer it to your lordship, as both my glory and my protection. But if in any thing I have erred, your lordship will yet accept it as a testimony of my gratitude; for that the means of study, which I enjoyed by your lordship's goodness, I have employed in the procurement of your lordship's favour. The God of Heaven crown your lordship with length of days in this earthly station, and in the Heavenly Jerusalem with a crown of glory.

3. In 1650, Hobbes published at London his treatise of "Human Nature."

4. The same year also appeared a larger treatise, entitled *De Corpore Politico;* or, Of the Body Politic.

5. In the mean time, he was digesting, with great care, the whole body of his principles, religious, moral, and political, into one complete system, which he published under the title of "Leviathan; or the Matter, Form, and Power of a Commonwealth, ecclesiastical and civil."—Lond. 1651, folio.

This important work is divided into four parts. The first treats of man in the abstract. The second regards him as a member of a commonwealth. The third examines the nature

of a christian commonwealth. The fourth is entitled, The Kingdom of Darkness.—The extracts will be too short to give a complete view of the peculiar principles of Hobbes; I shall, however, attempt it as far as my plan will admit. He observes in his introduction:

Nature (the art whereby God hath made and governs the world) is by the art of man, as in many other things, so in this also imitated, that it can make an artificial animal: for seeing life is but a motion of limbs, the beginning whereof is in some principal part within; why may we not say, that all *automata* (engines that move themselves by springs and wheels, as doth a watch) have an artificial life? For what is the heart but a spring, and the nerves but so many strings, and the joints but so many wheels, giving motion to the whole body, such as was intended by the artificer? Art goes yet further, imitating that rational and most excellent work of nature, man; for by art is created that great leviathan, called a Commonwealth, or State, (in Latin *Civitas*) which is but an artificial man, though of greater stature and strength than the natural, for whose protection and defence it was intended; and in which the sovereignty is an artificial soul, as giving life and motion to the whole body; the magistrates and other officers of judicature and execution, artifi-

cial joints; reward and punishment (by which fastened to the seat of the sovereignty, every joint and member is moved to perform his duty,) are the nerves, that do the same in the body natural; the wealth and riches of all the particular members, are the strength; *salus populi* (the people's safety) its business; counsellors, by whom all things needful for it to know are suggested unto it, are the memory; equity and laws, an artificial reason and will; concord, health; sedition, sickness; and civil war, death. Lastly, the pacts and covenants, by which the parts of this body politic were at first made, set together, and united, resemble that *fiat*, or "let us make man," pronounced by God in the creation.

To describe the nature of this artificial man, I will consider, first, the matter thereof, and the artificer; both which is *man*. Second, how and by what covenants it is made; what are the rights and just power or authority of a sovereign; and what it is that preserveth and dissolveth it. Third, what is a christian commonwealth. Fourth, and lastly, what is the kingdom of darkness.

Of the first and second Natural Laws. Chap. 14.

The right of nature, which writers commonly call *jus naturale*, is the liberty each man hath to use his

own power, as he will himself, for the preservation of his own nature, that is to say, of his own life; and consequently, of doing any thing which, in his own judgment and reason, he shall conceive the aptest means thereunto.

By liberty is understood, according to the proper signification of the word, the absence of external impediments; which impediments may oft take away part of a man's power to do what he would; but cannot hinder him from using the power left him, according as his judgment and reason shall dictate to him.

A law of nature *(lex naturalis)* is a precept, or general rule, found out by reason, by which a man is forbidden to do that which is destructive of his life, or taketh away the means of preserving the same; and to omit that by which he thinketh it may be best preserved. For though they that speak of this subject, use to confound *jus* and *lex*, *right* and *law*; yet they ought to be distinguished, because right consisteth in liberty to do, or to forbear; whereas law determineth and bindeth to one of them: so that law and right differ as much as obligation and liberty, which, in one and the same matter, are inconsistent.

And because the condition of man (as hath been declared in the precedent chapter) is a condition of war of every one against every one, in which case every one is governed by his own reason; and there is

nothing he can make use of, that may not be a help unto him in preserving his life against his enemies; it followeth, that in such a condition, every man has a right to every thing, even to one another's body. And therefore, as long as this natural right of every man to every thing endureth, there can be no security to any man (how strong or wise soever he be) of living out the time which nature ordinarily alloweth men to live. And consequently it is a precept, or general rule of reason, "that every man ought to endeavour peace, as far as he has hope of obtaining it; and when he cannot obtain it, that he may seek and use all helps and advantages of war." The first branch of which rule containeth the first and fundamental law of nature; which is, "to seek peace, and follow it." The second, the sum of the right of nature; which is, "by all means we can, to defend ourselves."

From this fundamental law of nature, by which men are commanded to endeavour peace, is derived this second law; "that a man may be willing, when others are so too, as far-forth, as for peace and defence of himself he shall think it necessary, to lay down this right to all things, and be contented with so much liberty against other men, as he would allow other men against himself;" for as long as every man holdeth this right, of doing any thing he liketh, so long are all men in the condition of war. But if

other men will not lay down their right, as well as he, then there is no reason for any one to divest himself of his: for that were to expose himself to prey (which no man is bound to) rather than to dispose himself to peace. This is that law of the Gospel; "Whatsoever ye require that others should do to you, that do ye to them." And that law of all men, "*Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris.*"

Of the Causes, Generation, and Definition of a Commonwealth.

The final cause, end, or design of men, (who naturally love liberty and dominion over others) in the introduction of that restraint upon themselves, (in which we see them live in commonwealths) is the foresight of their own preservation, and of a more contented life thereby; that is to say, of getting themselves out from that miserable condition of war, which is necessarily consequent (as hath been shewn) to the natural passions of men, when there is no visible power to keep them in awe, and tie them by fear of punishment to the performance of their covenants, and observation of those laws of nature set down in the 14th and 15th chapters.

For the laws of nature (as justice, equity, modesty, mercy, and (in sum) doing to others as we would be done to,) of themselves, without the terror of some

power, to cause them to be observed, are contrary to our natural passions, that carry us to partiality, pride, revenge, and the like. And covenants without the sword, are but words, and of no strength to secure a man at all. Therefore, notwithstanding the laws of nature (which every one hath then kept, when he has the will to keep them, when he can do it safely) if there be no power erected, or not great enough for our security, every man will and may lawfully rely on his own strength and art, for caution against all other men. And in all places, where men have lived by small families, to rob and spoil one another, hath been a trade, and so far from being reputed against the laws of nature, that the greater spoils they gained, the greater was their honour; that is, to abstain from cruelty, leaving to men their lives and instruments of husbandry. And as small families did then; so now do cities, and kingdoms, which are but greater families (for their own security) enlarge their dominions, upon all pretences of danger, and fear of invasion, or assistance that may be given to invaders, endeavour as much as they can, to subdue or weaken their neighbours, by open force, and secret arts, for want of other caution, justly; and are remembered for it in after ages with honour.

Nor is it the joining together of a small number of men, that gives them this security; because in small numbers, small additions on the one side or the other,

make the advantage of strength so great as is sufficient to carry the victory; and therefore gives encouragement to an invasion. The multitude sufficient to confide in for our security, is not determined by any certain number, but by comparison with the enemy we fear; and is then sufficient when the odds of the enemy is not of so visible and conspicuous moment to determine the event of war, as to move him to attempt.

And be there never so great a multitude, yet if their actions be directed according to their particular judgments, and particular appetites, they can expect thereby no defence, nor protection, neither against a common enemy, nor against the injuries of one another. For being distracted in opinions concerning the best use and application of their strength, they do not help but hinder one another; and reduce their strength, by mutual opposition, to nothing: whereby they are easily not only subdued by a very few that agree together; but also when there is no common enemy, they make war upon each other, for their particular interests. For if we could suppose a great multitude of men to consent in the observation of justice, and other laws of nature, without a common power to keep them in awe, we might as well suppose all mankind to do the same; and then there neither would be, nor need be, any civil government

or commonwealth at all; because there would be peace without subjection.

Nor is it enough for the security, which men desire should last all the time of their life, that they be governed and directed by one judgment, for a limited time, as in one battle, or one war. For though they obtain a victory by their unanimous endeavour against a foreign enemy; yet afterwards, when either they have no common enemy, or he that by one part is held for an enemy, is by another part held for a friend, they must needs, by the difference of their interests, dissolve and fall again into a war amongst themselves. * * * *

The only way to erect such a common power as may be able to defend them from the invasion of foreigners, and the injuries of one another, and thereby to secure them in such sort, as that by their own industry, and by the fruits of the earth, they may nourish themselves, and live contentedly; is to confer all their power and strength upon one man, or upon one assembly of men, that may reduce all their wills, by plurality of voices, unto one will; which is as much as to say, to appoint one man, or assembly of men, to bear their person; and every one to own and acknowledge himself to be author of whatsoever he that so beareth their person shall act or cause to be acted, in those things which concern the common peace and

safety; and therein to submit their will, every one to his will, and their judgments to his judgment. This is more than consent or concord; it is a real unity of them all, in one and the same person, made by covenant of every man with every man, in such manner, as if every man should say to every man, "I authorize and give up my right of governing myself to this man, or to this assembly of men, on this condition, that thou give up thy right to him, and authorize all his actions in like manner." This done, the multitude so united in one person is called a Commonwealth, in Latin *Civitas*. This is the generation of that great Leviathan, or rather (to speak more reverently) of that mortal God, to which we owe, under the immortal God, our peace and defence. For by this authority, given him by every particular man in the commonwealth, he hath the use of so much power and strength conferred on him, that by terror thereof, he is enabled to perform the wills of them all, to peace at home, and mutual aid against their enemies abroad. And in him consisteth the essence of the commonwealth; which (to define it) is "one person of whose acts a great multitude, by mutual covenants one with another, have made themselves every one the author, to the end he may use the strength and means of them all, as he shall think expedient, for their peace and common defence."

And he that carrieth this person, is called *Sovereign*,

and said to have *sovereign power;* and every one besides is *subject.* * * From this institution of a commonwealth are derived all the rights and faculties of him, or them, on whom sovereign power is conferred by the consent of the people assembled.

The author then establishes the following positions, comprehending the rights and authority of the sovereign. 1. That the subjects cannot change the form of government. 2. That the sovereign power cannot be forfeited. 3. That no man can, without injustice, protest against the institution of the sovereign, declared by the major part. 4. That the sovereign's actions cannot be justly accused by the subject. 5. That whatsoever the sovereign doth is unpunishable by the subject. 6. That the sovereign is judge of what is necessary for the peace and defence of his subjects; and judge of what doctrines are fit to be taught them. 7. That the right of making rules, whereby the subjects may every man know what is so his own, as no other subject can, without injustice, take it from him. 8. That to him also belongeth the right of all judicature and decision of controversies. 9. And of

making war and peace as he shall think best. 10. And of choosing all counsellors and ministers, both of peace and war. 11. And of rewarding and punishing, and that (where no former law hath determined the measure of it) arbitrary. 12. And of honour and order. 13. That these rights are indivisible, and can by no grant pass away, without direct renouncing of the sovereign power. 14. That the power and honour of subjects vanish in the presence of the power sovereign.—He concludes his arguments on these topics in the following manner:

But a man may here object, that the condition of subjects is very miserable; as being obnoxious to the lusts and other irregular passions of him or them that have so unlimited a power in their hands. And commonly they that live under a monarch, think it the fault of monarchy; and they that live under the government of democracy, or other sovereign assembly, attribute all the inconvenience to that form of commonwealth; whereas the power in all forms, if they be perfect enough to protect them, is the same; not considering that the estate of man can never be without some incommodity or other, and that the greatest that in any form of government can pos-

sibly happen to the people in general, is scarce sensible, in respect of the miseries and horrible calamities that accompany a civil war; or that dissolute condition of masterless men, without subjection to laws, and a coercive power to tie their hands from rapine and revenge: nor considering that the greatest pressure of sovereign governors, proceedeth not from any delight or profit they can expect in the damage or weaking of their subjects, in whose vigour consisteth their own strength and glory; but in the restiveness of themselves, that unwillingly contributing to their own defence, make it necessary for their governors to draw from them what they can in time of peace, that they may have means on any emergent occasion, or sudden need, to resist, or take advantage on their enemies. For all men are by nature provided of notable multiplying glasses, (that is, their passions and self-love) through which every little payment appeareth a great grievance; but are destitute of those prospective-glasses (namely moral and civil science) to see afar off the miseries that hang over them, and cannot, without such payments, be avoided.

The third division of this admirable work treats of the nature and rights of a christian commonwealth. Hobbes was a friend to an established religion; but, as will be seen, was

of opinion that all religion ought to be subjected to the controul of the civil magistrate. I shall present the reader with a few short extracts from this part of the work; and though his peculiar sentiments may be presumed unpopular, little danger can be apprehended from their evulgation, as the author will be uniformly found a friend to order and good government.

Of the Principles of Christian Politics.

I have derived the rights of sovereign power, and the duty of subjects hitherto, from the principles of nature only; such as experience has found true, or consent (concerning the use of words) has made so; that is to say, from the nature of men, known to us by experience; and from definitions (of such words as are essential to all political reasoning) universally agreed on. But in that I am next to handle, which is the nature and rights of a Christian Commonwealth, whereof there dependeth much upon supernatural revelations of the will of God; the ground of my discourse must be not only the natural word of God, but also the prophetical.

Nevertheless, we are not to renounce our senses, and experience; nor (that which is the undoubted word of God) our natural reason. For they are the

talents which he hath put into our hands to negotiate, till the coming again of our blessed Saviour; and therefore not to be folded up in the napkin of an implicit faith, but employed in the purchase of justice, peace, and true religion. For though there be many things in God's word above reason; that is to say, which cannot by natural reason be either demonstrated, or confuted, yet there is nothing contrary to it; but when it seemeth so, the fault is either in our unskilful interpretation, or erroneous ratiocination.

Therefore, when any thing therein written is too hard for our examination, we are bidden to captivate our understanding to the words; and not to labour in sifting out a philosophical truth by logic, of such mysteries as are not comprehensible, nor fall under any rule of natural science. For it is with the mysteries of our religion, as with wholesome pills for the sick, which swallowed whole, have the virtue to cure; but chewed, are for the most part cast up again without effect. * * * *

Seeing * * miracles now cease, we have no sign left, whereby to acknowledge the pretended revelations, or inspirations of any private man; nor obligation to give ear to any doctrine, farther than it is conformable to the Holy Scriptures, which, since the time of our Saviour, supply the place, and sufficiently recompence the want of all other prophecy;

and from which, by wise and learned interpretation, and careful ratiocination, all rules and precepts necessary to the knowledge of our duty both to God and man, without enthusiasm, or supernatural inspiration, may easily be deduced. And this Scripture is it, out of which I am to take the principles of my discourse, concerning the rights of those that are the supreme governors on earth, of christian commonwealths; and of the duty of christian subjects towards their sovereigns. * * * *

It is a question much disputed between the divers sects of christian religion, "from whence the Scriptures derive their authority?" * * The question truly stated is, "by what authority they are made law?" As far as they differ not from the laws of nature, there is no doubt but they are the law of God, and carry their authority with them, legible to all men that have the use of natural reason; but this is no other authority than that of all other moral doctrine consonant to reason; the dictates whereof are laws, not made, but eternal.

If they be made law by God himself, they are of the nature of written law, which are laws to them only to whom God hath so sufficiently published them, as no man can excuse himself by saying, he knew not they were his.

He, therefore, to whom God hath not supernaturally revealed that they are his, nor that those that

published them, were sent by him, is not obliged to obey them by any authority but his, whose commands have already the force of laws; that is to say, by any other authority than that of the commonwealth, residing in the sovereign, who only has the legislative power. Again, if it be not the legislative authority of the commonwealth, that giveth them the force of laws, it must be some other authority derived from God, either private or public; if private, it obliges only him to whom in particular God hath been pleased to reveal it. * * If public, it is the authority of the commonwealth, or of the church. But the church, if it be one person, is the same thing with a commonwealth of christians; called a commonwealth, because it consisteth of men united in one person, their sovereign; and a church, because it consisteth in christian men, united in one christian sovereign. But if the church be not one person, then it hath no authority at all; it can neither command nor do any action at all; nor is capable of having any power or right to any thing; nor has any will, reason, nor voice; for all these qualities are personal. Now if the whole number of christians be not contained in one commonwealth, they are not one person; nor is there an universal church that hath any authority over them; and therefore the Scriptures are not made laws by the universal church: or if it be one commonwealth,

then all christian monarchs and states are private persons, and subject to be judged, deposed, and punished by an universal sovereign of all christendom. So that the question of the authority of the Scriptures is reduced to this: "Whether christian kings, and the sovereign assemblies in christian commonwealths, be absolute in their own territories, immediately under God; or subject to one vicar of Christ, constituted of the universal church; to be judged, condemned, deposed, and put to death, as he shall think expedient, or necessary for the common good?"

It is impossible for me to follow the author any farther in his detail on this question. I shall therefore content myself with a passage or two, selected from his review and conclusion of the whole.

As to the whole doctrine, I see not yet but the principles of it are true and proper, and the ratiocination solid: for I ground the civil right of sovereigns, and both the duty and liberty of subjects, upon the known natural inclinations of mankind, and upon the articles of the law of nature; of which no man, that pretends but reason enough to govern

his private family, ought to be ignorant. And for the power ecclesiastical of the same sovereign, I ground it on such texts as are both evident in themselves, and consonant to the scope of the whole Scripture. And therefore am persuaded, that he that shall read it with a purpose only to be informed, shall be informed by it. * * * *

In that part which treateth of a christian commonwealth, there are some new doctrines, which it may be, in a state where the contrary were already fully determined, were a fault for a subject without leave to divulge, as being an usurpation of the place of a teacher. But in this time, that men call not only for peace, but also for truth, to offer such doctrines as I think true, and that manifestly tend to peace and loyalty, to the consideration of those who are yet in deliberation, is no more but to offer new wine to be put into new casks, that both may be preserved together. And I suppose that then when novelty can breed no trouble nor disorder in a state, men are not generally so much inclined to the reverence of antiquity, as to prefer ancient errors, before new and well-proved truths. * * * *

To conclude, there is nothing in this whole discourse, nor in that I writ before of the same subject in Latin, as far as I can perceive, contrary either to the word of God, or to good manners; or to the disturbance of the public tranquillity. Therefore I think it

may be profitably printed, and more profitably taught in the universities, in case they also think so, to whom the judgment of the same belongeth. For seeing the universities are the fountains of civil and moral doctrine, from whence the preachers, and the gentry, drawing such water as they find, are to sprinkle the same (both from the pulpit, and in their conversation) upon the people, there ought certainly to be great care taken to have it pure, both from the venom of heathen politicians, and from the incantation of deceiving spirits. And by that means the most men, knowing their duties, will be the less subject to serve the ambition of a few discontented persons, in their purposes against the state, and be the less grieved with the contributions necessary for their peace and defence; and the governors themselves have the less cause to maintain at the common charge any greater army than is necessary to make good the public liberty against the invasions and encroachments of sovereign enemies.

And thus I have brought to an end my discourse of civil and ecclesiastical government, occasioned by the disorders of the present time, without partiality, without application, and without other design than to set before men's eyes the mutual relation between protection and obedience; of which the condition of human nature, and the laws divine, (both natural and positive) require an inviolable observation. And

though in the revolution of states, there can be no very good constellation for truths of this nature to be born under, (as having an angry aspect from the dissolvers of an old government, and seeing but the backs of them that erect a new,) yet I cannot think it will be condemned at this time, either by the public judge of doctrine, or by any that desires the continuance of public peace. And in this hope I return to my interrupted speculation of bodies natural; wherein (if God give me health to finish it) I hope the novelty will as much please, as in the doctrine of the artificial body it used to offend. For such truth, in opposing no man's profit nor pleasure, is to all men welcome.

Hobbes wrote likewise a variety of other works, besides those above enumerated; of which the following, however, is not presented as a complete list.

1. On Liberty and Necessity.

2. An Historical Narration of Heresy.

3. It is a curious circumstance, that he wrote his own life in Latin verse, at the age of 84.

4. A Translation of the Iliad and Odyssey into English Verse; but of his poetry Pope observes, that it is too low for criticism. Still it

should be recollected, that his translation was made when he was between eighty and ninety years of age.

5. *Decameron Physiologicum;* or, Ten Dialogues of Natural Philosophy.

6. The Art of Rhetoric, collected from Aristotle and Ramus.

7. A Dialogue between a Philosopher and a Student of the Common Law of England.

8. The last work printed during his life was entitled "Behemoth;" or, a History of the Civil Wars, from 1640 to 1660. This is written in dialogue, and is very valuable as coming from a historian of observation, who lived in the midst of those transactions he records, and was acquainted with many of the principal actors in those tumultuous scenes he describes. But he ought, nevertheless, to be read with caution. Hobbes hated tumult and war; and was willing to purchase peace—unquestionably the highest of human blessings—even at the expence of freedom.

9. A beautiful edition of his works was published abroad, in 1668, 4to.

Hobbes may be considered as the founder of political philosophy among us. No treatise on the subject equally methodical,

profound, and luminous, had appeared prior to his time. He had evidently found out the right method of conducting philosophical enquiries. In the examination of any complicated and difficult question, his first aim is to detect the primary cause of any series of effects—to disentangle it from all adventitious circumstances, and then to pursue it into all its various ramifications of consequences. In my opinion, he is a better reasoner than Locke. He has not the endless tautology of that philosopher. Locke has no sooner a good idea, than he turns, and twists, and views it in all possible lights; he becomes so enamoured of it, that it is with great reluctance he suffers it to escape from his embraces. In all enquiries relative to the moral class of objects, especially in metaphysics, where a principle is often to be proved more by clearness of perception and of statement, than by an accumulation of particulars, if we have once succeeded in presenting an idea in a light in which it can be distinctly apprehended—a single statement is better than a thousand. Nay, in elementary works, even in experimental philosophy, a few clear and decisive experiments are preferable to a multitude; and for a very

obvious reason—because they can be more easily remembered. In the application too of new facts, something may be fairly left to the ingenuity of the student.

The political principles of Hobbes unfortunately lead to despotism; and may be thus summarily stated:—The first object of civil society is security; security can be enjoyed only where there is peace; peace cannot be maintained without dominion; dominion cannot be supported without arms; and even arms will prove a weak defence, unless wielded by a single arm; which, nevertheless, will be impotent to restrain discord in those who are actuated by the dread of an evil greater than death itself.

A very admissible excuse, however, may be found for him in the circumstances of his condition, both personal and political. Hobbes was timid by nature; and he lived in the time of the civil wars, when all was tumult and uproar. From his studious habits, as well as from his constitutional temperament, he was fond of calmness and of peace, for which he thought we could never pay too dear. Besides, notwithstanding his natural timidity, he well knew

that he had broached opinions bold, far beyond the average sentiments of the age. He was aware, too, that the clergy had not quite forgotten their old games of fire and faggot, and that they might one day make a bonfire of him; and he would very wisely have chosen to turn Turk rather than martyr, and have submitted to the sacred rite of circumcision in preference to being burnt alive. His terror was so great and so habitual, that he would never suffer himself to be left alone in the house of the earl of Devonshire; but when the family moved, would always go with them. He was thus removed on his death-bed, from Chatsworth to Hardwick.

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No courts of judicature could give redress to the people for these illegal sufferings, whilst judges were displaced by the king, for not complying with his will, and so awed, that they durst not do their duties: for to hold a rod over them, the clause, *Quamdiu se bene gesserint* was left out of their patents, and a new clause, *Durante bene placito*, inserted.

New illegal oaths were enforced upon the subjects, and new judicatories erected without law; and when commissions were granted for examining the excess of fees, and great exactions discovered, the delinquents were compounded with, not only for the time past, but immunity to offend for the time to come; which, instead of redressing, did confirm and encrease the grievance of the subjects.

By this time, all thoughts of ever having a parliament again, were quite banished; so many oppressions had been set on foot, so many illegal actions done, that the only way to justify the mischiefs already done, was to do that one greater, to take away the means which was ordained to redress them, the lawful government of England by parliaments.

Whilst the kingdom was in this condition, the serious and just men of England, who were no way interested in the emolument of these oppressions, could not but entertain sad thoughts and presages, of what mischief must needs follow so great an injustice; that things carried so far on in a wrong way,

must needs either enslave themselves and posterity for ever, or require a vindication so sharp and smarting, as that the nation would groan under it; and though the times were jolly for the present, yet having observed the judgment of God upon other secure nations, they could not choose but fear the sequel. Another sort of men, and especially lords and gentlemen, by whom the pressures of the government were not much felt, who enjoyed their own plentiful fortunes, with little or insensible detriment, looking no further than their present safety and prosperity, and the yet undisturbed peace of the nation, whilst other kingdoms were embroiled in calamities, and Germany sadly wasted by a sharp war; did nothing but applaud the happiness of England, and called those ungrateful and factious spirits, who complained of the breach of laws and liberties; that the kingdom abounded with wealth, plenty, and all kind of elegancies more than ever; that it was for the honour of a people that the monarch should live splendidly, and not be curbed at all in his prerogative, which would bring him into the greater esteem with other princes, and more enable him to prevail in treaties; that what they suffered by monopolies, was insensible, and not grievous, if compared with other states; that the duke of Tuscany sate heavier upon his people in that very kind; that the French king had made himself an absolute lord, and quite depressed

the power of parliaments, which had been there as great as in any kingdom, and yet that France flourished, and the gentry lived well; that the Austrian princes, especially in Spain, laid heavy burdens upon their subjects.

Thus did many of the English gentry, by way of comparison, in ordinary discourse, plead for their own servitude.

The courtiers would begin to dispute against parliaments in their ordinary discourse, that they were cruel to those whom the king favoured, and too injurious to his prerogative; that the late parliament stood upon too high terms with the king; and that they hoped the king should never need any more parliaments. Some of the greatest statesmen and privy counsellors, would ordinarily laugh at the ancient language of England, when the word, liberty of the subject, was named. But these gentlemen, who seemed so forward in taking up their own yoke, were but a small part of the nation (though a number considerable enough to make a reformation hard) compared with those gentlemen who were sensible of their birthrights, and the true interest of the kingdom; on which side the common people in the generality, and country freeholders stood, who would rationally argue of their own rights, and those oppressions that were laid upon them.

But the sins of the English nation were too great

to let them hope for an easy or speedy redress of such grievances; and the manners of the people so much corrupted, as by degrees they became of that temper, which the historian speaks of his Romans, *ut nec mala, nec remedia ferre possent*; they could neither suffer those pressures patiently, nor quietly endure the cure of them. Prophaneness too much abounded every where; and which is most strange, where there was no religion, yet there was superstition. Luxury in diet, and excess both in meat and drink, was crept into the kingdom in a high degree, not only in the quantity, but in the wanton curiosity. And in abuse of those good creatures which God had bestowed upon this plentiful land, they mixed the vices of divers nations, catching at every thing that was new and foreign.

——————— *Non vulgo nota placebant*
Gaudia, non usu plebejo trita voluptas. PETR.
———————"Old known delight
They scorn, and vulgar bare-worn pleasure slight."

As much pride and excess was in apparel, almost among all degrees of people, in new fangled and various fashioned attire; they not only imitated, but excelled their foreign patterns; and in fantastical gestures and behaviour, the petulancy of most nations in Europe.

Et lasi crines et tot nova nomina vestis. PETR.

"Loose hair, and many new found names of clothes."

The serious men groaned for a parliament; but the great statesmen plyed it the harder, to complete that work they had begun, of setting up prerogative above all laws.

The lord Wentworth (afterward created earl of Strafford for his service in that kind) was then labouring to oppress Ireland, of which he was deputy; and to begin that work in a conquered kingdom, which was intended to be afterward wrought by degrees in England: and indeed he had gone very far and prosperously in those ways of tyranny, though very much to the endamaging and setting back of that newly established kingdom.

He was a man of great parts, of a deep reach, subtle wit, of spirit and industry to carry on his business, and such a conscience as was fit for that work he was designed to. He understood the right way, and the liberty of his country, as well as any man; for which, in former parliaments, he stood up stiffly, and seemed an excellent patriot. For those abilities he was soon taken off by the king, and raised in honour, to be employed in a contrary way, for enslaving of his country, which his ambition easily drew him to undertake. To this man, in my opinion, that

character which Lucan bestows upon the Roman Curio, in some sort may suit:

Haud alium tanta civem tulit indole Roma,
Aut cui plus leges deberent recta sequenti:
Perdita tunc urbi nocuerunt secula, postquam
Ambitus et Luxus, et opum metuenda facultas,
Transverso mentem dubiam torrente tulerunt,
Momentumq; fuit mutatus Curio rerum.

" A man of abler parts Rome never bore,
Nor one to whom (whilst right) the laws owed more:
Our state itself then suffered, when the tide
Of Avarice, Ambition, factious pride,
To turn his wavering mind quite cross began,
Of such high moment was one changed man."

The court of England, during this long vacancy of parliaments, enjoyed itself in as much pleasure and splendor, as ever any court did. The revels, triumphs, and princely pastimes, were for those many years kept up, at so great a height, that any stranger which travelled into England, would verily believe a kingdom that looked so cheerfully in the face could not be sick in any part.

The queen was fruitful, and now grown of such an age, as might seem to give her privilege of a farther society with the king, than bed and board, and make her a partner of his affairs and business; which his

extreme affection did more to encourage her to challenge. That conjugal love, as an extraordinary virtue of a king, in midst of so many temptations, the people did admire and honour.

But the queen's power did by degrees give privilege to papists, and among them, the most witty and jesuited, to converse under the name of civility and courtship, not only with inferior courtiers, but the king himself, and to sow their seed in what ground they thought best; and by degrees, as in compliment to the queen, nuntios from the pope were received in the court of England, Panzani, Cor, and Rosetti, the king himself maintaining in discourse, that he saw no reason why he might not receive an ambassador from the pope, being a temporal prince. But those nuntios were not entertained with public ceremony, so that the people in general took no great notice of them; and the courtiers were confident of the king's religion, by his due frequenting prayers and sermons.

The clergy, whose dependence was merely upon the king, were wholly taken up in admiration of his happy government, which they never concealed from himself as often as the pulpit gave them access to his ear; and not only there, but at all meetings, they discoursed with joy upon that theme; affirming confidently, that no prince in Europe was so great a friend to the church, as king Charles; that religion

flourished no where but in England; and no reformed church retained the face and dignity of a church but that: many of them used to deliver their opinion, that God had therefore so severely punished the palatinate, because their sacrilege had been so great in taking away the endowments of bishopricks.

Queen Elizabeth herself, who had reformed religion, was but coldly praised, and all her virtues forgotten, when they remembered how she cut short the bishoprick of Ely.

Henry the Eighth was much condemned by them, for seizing upon the abbeys, and taking so much out of the several bishopricks as he did in the 37th year of his reign. To maintain therefore that splendour of a church, which so much pleased them, was become their highest endeavour; especially after they had gotten, in the year 1633, an archbishop after their own heart, doctor Laud; who had before for divers years ruled the clergy in secession of archbishop Abbot, a man of better temper and discretion; which discretion or virtue to conceal, would be an injury to that archbishop. He was a man who wholly followed the true interest of England, and that of the reformed churches in Europe, so far as that in his time the clergy was not much envied here in England, nor the government of episcopacy much disfavoured by protestants beyond the seas. Not only the pomp of ceremonies were daily increased, and in-

novations of great scandal brought into the church; but in point of doctrine, many fair approaches made towards Rome; as he that pleaseth to search may find in the books of bishop Laud, Mountague, Helyn, Pocklington, and the rest; or in briéf collected by a Scottish minister, master Bailey. And as their friendship to Rome increased, so did their scorn to the reformed churches beyond the seas; whom, instead of lending that relief and succour to them which God had enabled this rich island to do, they failed in their greatest extremities, and instead of harbours, became rocks to split them, &c. &c.

TAYLOR.

JEREMY TAYLOR, bishop of Down and Connor, in Ireland, was born at Cambridge; but the precise year is unknown, though probably somewhere between the years 1600 and 1610. David Lloyd says, that his father was a barber. At the age of thirteen, he was admitted into Caius College; and having taken his degrees in arts, he was elected, some time after, by the interest of archbishop Laud, fellow of All-souls College, Oxford. He became chaplain to Laud, who likewise procured for him the rectory of Uppington, in Rutlandshire, where he settled in 1640, with a wife. Two years after, he was created D. D. at Oxford; and being before chaplain in ordinary to Charles I. often preached before him, when retired with his court to Oxford; and also attended his majesty in several campaigns.

On the decline of the king's cause, his living was sequestered, and he retired into Wales, where he was reduced to the necessity of keeping school for the support of himself and family. After continuing some years in this solitude, he was driven to London by the domestic calamity of losing three of his sons in the short space of two or three months; and now officiated, though in circumstances of great danger, to a private congregation of loyalists. At length becoming acquainted with Edward lord Conway, he was invited by that nobleman to Ireland, where, at Portmore, he found a calm and delightful retreat, in which he continued till the restoration, when he returned to England

In 1660-1, in consideration of his merit, his learning, and attachment to the royal cause, he was promoted to the sees of Down and Connor, in Ireland, and a little before had been made privy counsellor for that kingdom. About the same time, too, the king granted him the administration of the bishopric of Dromore, for his undaunted defence of the church of England. He was also elected vice-chancellor of the university of Dublin; which honourable

office he retained to his death, which took place in 1667.

1. The writings of bishop Taylor are all of a theological description, of which the greater part consists of sermons; but the composition of the greatest value, perhaps, contained in his works is, the "Discourse of the Liberty of Prophesying; shewing the unreasonableness of prescribing to other mens' faith, and the iniquity of persecuting differing opinions." In this is displayed great extent of learning, clearness of reasoning, and liberality of sentiment. It is divided into twenty-two sections.

2. The most popular works, however, of the bishop, are his two tracts, entitled, 1. The Rule and Exercise of Holy Living. 2. The Rule and Exercises of Holy Dying. In the first of these there is nothing very remarkable; but the last contains many passages of singular beauty; and perhaps none, in the whole compass of his works, could be selected more characteristic of his peculiar manner.

On Death.

I have conversed with some men who rejoiced in the death or calamity of others, and accounted it as a

judgment upon them for being on the other side, and against them in the contention; but within the revolution of a few months, the same man met with a more uneasy and unhandsome death: which when I saw, I wept and was afraid; for I knew that it must be so with all men: for we also shall die, and end our quarrels and contentions by passing to a final sentence.

It will be very material to our best and noblest purposes, if we represent this scene of change and sorrow, a little more dressed up in circumstances; for so we shall be more apt to practise those rules, the doctrine of which is consequent to this consideration. It is a mighty change that is made by the death of every person, and it is visible to us who are alive. Reckon but from the sprightfulness of youth, and the fair cheeks and full eyes of childhood, from the vigorousness and strong flexures of the joints of five-and-twenty, to the hollowness and dead paleness, to the loathsomeness and horror of a three days burial, and we shall perceive the distance to be very great and very strange. But so have I seen a rose newly springing from the clefts of its hood, and at first it was fair as the morning, and full with the dew of Heaven, as a lamb's fleece; but when a ruder breath had forced open its virgin modesty, and dismantled its too youthful and unripe retirements, it began to put on darkness, and to decline to softness and the

symptoms of a sickly age; it bowed the head, and broke its stalk, and at night, having lost some of its leaves, and all its beauty, it fell into the portion of weeds and out-worn faces.

On the gradual Progress of Man's Reason.

A third part of our life is spent before we enter into an higher order, into the state of a man. Neither must we think, that the life of a man begins when he can feed himself, or walk alone; when he can fight, or beget his like; for so he is contemporary with a camel or a cow: but he is first a man, when he comes to a certain steady use of reason, according to his proportion; and when that is, all the world of men cannot tell precisely. Some are called *at age* at fourteen, some at one-and-twenty, some never; but all men late enough; for the life of a man comes upon him slowly and insensibly. But as when the sun approaches towards the gates of the morning, he first opens a little eye of heaven, and sends away the spirits of darkness, and gives light to a cock, and calls up the lark to matins, and by and by gilds the fringes of a cloud, and peeps over the eastern hills, thrusting out his golden horns, like those which decked the brows of Moses when he was forced to

wear a veil, because himself had seen the face of God; and still while a man tells the story, the sun gets up higher, till he shews a fair face, and a full light, and then he shines one whole day, under a cloud often, and sometimes weeping great and little showers, and sets quickly: so is a man's reason and his life. He first begins to perceive himself to see or taste, making little reflections upon his actions of sense, and can discourse of flies and dogs, shells and play, horses and liberty: but when he is strong enough to enter into arts and little institutions, he is at first entertained with trifles and impertinent things, not because he needs them, but because his understanding is no bigger, and little images of things are laid before him, like a cock-boat to a whale, only to play withal; but before a man comes to be wise, he is half dead with gouts and consumptions, with catarrhs and aches, with sore eyes and a worn-out body; so that if we must reckon the life of a man, but by the accounts of his reason, he is long before his soul be dressed; and he is not to be called a man without a wise and an adorned soul, a soul at least furnished with what is necessary towards his well-being: but by that time his soul is thus furnished, his body is decayed; and then you can hardly reckon him to be alive, when his body is possessed by so many degrees of death.

Remedies against Impatience.

What is there in the world to distinguish virtues from dishonours, or the valour of Cæsar from the softness of the Egyptian eunuchs, or that can make any thing rewardable, but the labour and the danger, the pain and the difficulty? Virtue could not be any thing but sensuality, if it were the entertainment of our senses and fond desires; and Apicius had been the noblest of all the Romans, if feeding a great appetite, and despising the severities of temperance, had been the work and proper employment of a wise man. But otherwise do fathers, and otherwise do mothers handle their children. These soften them with kisses and imperfect noises, with the pap and breast-milk of soft endearments; they rescue them from tutors, and snatch them from discipline; they desire to keep them fat and warm, and their feet dry, and their bellies full; and then the children govern, and cry, and prove fools and troublesome, so long as the feminine republic does endure. But fathers, because they design to have their children wise and valiant, apt for council or for arms, send them to severe governments, and tie them to study, to hard labour, and afflictive contingencies. They rejoice when the bold boy strikes a lion with his hunting spear, and shrinks not when the beast comes to affright his

early courage. Softness is for slaves and beasts, for minstrels and useless persons, for such who cannot ascend higher than the state of a fair ox, or a servant entertained for vainer offices. But the man that designs his son for noble employments, to honours and to triumphs, to consular dignities and presidencies of councils, loves to see him pale with study, or panting with labour, hardened with sufferance, or eminent by dangers. And so God dresses us for Heaven.

On the Practice of Patience.

At the first address and presence of sickness, stand still and arrest thy spirit, that it may without amazement or affright consider that this was that thou lookedst for, and wert always certain should happen, and that now thou art to enter into the actions of a new religion, the agony of a strange constitution; but at no hand suffer thy spirits to be dispersed with fear, or wildness of thought, but stay their looseness and dispersion by a serious consideration of the present and future employment. For so doth the Lybian lion, spying the fierce huntsman; he first beats himself with the strokes of his tail, and curls up his spirits, making them strong with union and recollection, till being struck with a

Mauritanian spear, he rushes forth into his defence and noblest contention; and either escapes into the secrets of his own dwelling, or else dies the bravest of the forest. Every man, when shot with an arrow from God's quiver, must then draw in all the auxiliaries of reason, and know that then is the time to try his strength, and to reduce the words of his religion into action, and consider that if he behaves himself weakly and timorously, he suffers never the less of sickness; but if he returns to health, he carries along with him the mask of a coward and a fool; and if he descends into his grave, he enters into the state of the faithless and unbelievers. Let him set his heart firm upon this resolution—*I must bear it inevitably, and I will by God's grace do it nobly.*

In the 5th chap. entitled, "Of the Contingencies and treating our Dead," our author introduces the well-known story of the *Ephesian Matron*, which he tells with such singular simplicity and beauty, that I may be excused from soliciting the pardon of the reader for inserting it.

The Ephesian woman, that the soldier told of in Petronius, was the talk of all the town, and the rarest example of a dear affection to her husband. She descended with the corpse into the vault, and there being attended with her maiden, resolved to weep to death, or die with famine or a distempered sorrow: from which resolution, nor his, nor her friends, nor the reverence of the principal citizens, who used the entreaties of their charity and their power, could dissuade her. But a soldier that watched seven dead bodies hanging upon the trees just over against this monument, crept in, and a while stared upon the silent and comely disorders of the sorrow: and having let the wonder awhile breathe out at each others' eyes, at last he fetched his supper and a bottle of wine, with purpose to eat and drink, and still to feed himself with that sad prettiness. His pity and first draught of wine made him bold and curious to try if the maid would drink: who, having many hours since felt her resolution faint as her wearied body, took his kindness; and the light returned into her eyes, and danced like boys in a festival: and fearing lest the pertinaciousness of her mistress' sorrows should cause her evil to revert, or her shame to approach, assayed whether she would endure to hear an argument to persuade her to drink and live. The violent passion had laid all her spirits in wildness

and dissolution, and the maid found them willing to be gathered into order at the arrest of any new object, being weary of the first, of which like leeches they had sucked their fill till they fell down and burst. The weeping woman took her cordial, and was not angry with her maid, and heard the soldier talk. And he was so pleased with the change, that he, who first loved the silence of the sorrow, was more in love with the music of her returning voice, especially which himself had strung and put in tune. And the man began to talk amorously, and the woman's weak head and heart was soon possessed with a little wine, and grew gay, and talked and fell in love; and that very night, in the morning of her passion, in the grave of her husband, in the pomps of mourning, and in her funeral garments, married her new and stranger guest. For so the wild foragers of Lybia, being spent with heat, and dissolved by the two fond kisses of the sun, do melt with their common fires, and die with faintness, and descend with motions slow and unable to the little brooks that descend from heaven in the wilderness; and when they drink, they return into the vigour of a new life, and contract strange marriages; and the lioness is courted by a panther, and she listens to his love, and conceives a monster that all men call unnatural, and the daughter of an equivocal passion and of a sudden refreshment. And so also was it in

the cave at Ephesus: for by this time the soldier began to think it was fit he should return to his watch, and observe the dead bodies he had in charge; but when he ascended from his mourning bridal chamber, he found that one of the bodies was stolen by the friends of the dead, and he was fallen into an evil condition, because by the laws of Ephesus, his body was to be fixed in the place of it. The poor man returns to his woman, cries out bitterly, and in her presence resolves to die to prevent his death, and in secret to prevent his shame. But now the woman's love was raging like her former sadness, and grew witty, and she comforted her soldier, and persuaded him to live, lest by losing him, who had brought her from death and a more grievous sorrow, she should return to her old solemnities of dying, and lose her honour for a dream, or the reputation of her constancy without the change and satisfaction of an enjoyed love. The man would fain have lived, if it had been possible, and she found out this way for him; that he should take the body of her first husband, whose funeral she had so strangely mourned, and put it upon the gallows in place of the stolen thief. He did so, and escaped the present danger, to possess a love which might change as violently as her grief her done. But so have I seen a crowd of disordered people rush violently and in heaps till their utmost border was restrained by a wall, or had

spent the fury of the first fluctuation and watery progress, and by and by it returned to the contrary with the same earnestness, only because it was violent and ungoverned. A raging passion is this crowd, which, when it is not under discipline and the conduct of reason, and the proportions of temperate humanity, runs passionately the way it happens, and by and by as greedily to another side, being swayed by its own weight, and driven any whither by chance, in all its pursuits, having no rule but to do all it can, and spend itself in haste, and expire with some shame and much indecency.

The 27th edition of the Holy Living and Dying, has been recently published, 8vo. by the Rev. Thomas Thirwall.

Jeremy Taylor possessed a very lively and beautiful fancy, a taste perhaps more chaste than correct. His power of language is unbounded; and we are often pleased with his astonishing fertility, when we are least disposed to sympathize with his opinions. His similies, indeed, are often crowded, and the general effect is dissipated and weakened by a redundance of beauties. The bulk of his works consists of sermons, which few probably would

wish to read, but for the astonishing passages of eloquence which occasionally burst upon the mind. No writer can exceed him in sentimental painting—in awful representation.

LILLY.

WILLIAM LILLY, the famous English astrologer, was born in Leicestershire, in 1602. His parents not being in affluent circumstances, were unable to give their son a liberal education. Having been taught therefore a little writing and arithmetic in the country school of Ashby de la Zouch, he resolved to try his fortune in London, where he arrived in 1620. He first became servant to a mantua-maker, then book-keeper to the master of a salter's company in the Strand, who dying, he was so successful as to marry his widow with a fortune of 1000*l*.

Being now at his ease, he frequented the sermons and lectures of the Puritans; and in 1632, commenced the study of astrology, under the tuition of one Evans, a debauched

Welch parson, who had lately come to London from Leicestershire, where he had practised his craft many years. The first specimen Lilly gave of his skill in his new art, was a prophecy that the king had chosen an unlucky horoscope for his coronation in Scotland, 1633. In 1634, getting possession of a MS. with some alterations of the "*Ars Notoria*" of Cornelius Agrippa, he imbibed with great eagerness the doctrine of the magical circle, and the invocation of spirits, adopted a form of prayer therein prescribed to the angel Salmonæus, and soon came to flatter himself that he was the particular favorite of that uncreated phantom. He likewise boasted a familiar acquaintance with the peculiar guardian angels of England, named Salmael and Malchidael. Having purchased some other astrological books, which had been found on pulling down the house of another astrologer, he entered still more deeply into the science.

His subsequent connections with the parliament party, whose interests he espoused, are known from general history, and strongly mark the superstition of the times. Charles I. himself consulted him, to know where he should conceal himself, if he could escape

from Hampton-court; and general Fairfax enquired of him, if he could tell by his art, whether God were with them, and approved their cause. He received, in 1648, fifty pounds in cash, and an order from the council of state for a pension of a hundred pounds *per annum*; for information he stipulated to furnish relative to the chief concerns of France; which information he obtained by means of a secular priest he formerly knew, and who was then confessor to one of the French secretaries. Meanwhile, in 1648 and 1649, he read public lectures on astrology, by which, and other employments of his art, he amassed a competent fortune.

After the restoration, 1660, he was taken into custody, and examined by a committee of the House of Commons respecting the execution of Charles I.; but he was finally pardoned. For the ten or eleven last years of his life he combined the practice of medicine and astrology; and died in 1681.

In a literary point of view, he is chiefly known by his Ephemeris, or Almanack, which he entitled "*Merlinus Anglicus Junior;*" the first of which was published in 1644, and continued in repute for six-and-thirty years. In

1651, however, he published a treatise entitled, "Several Observations upon the Life and Death of Charles, late King of England;" in which he treats the king's father and ministers with great acrimony, and discovers himself a zealous partizan of the republican government. This tract was reprinted in 1715, with the arrogant title of "Mr. William Lilly's True History of King James I. and King Charles I.; with sundry Observations, remarkable Passages, and many secret Transactions, not till now divulged," &c.

I shall select for a brief extract, a few passages from the beginning of his tract, entitled, *Annus Tenebrosus*, or, The Dark Year, 1652—an Astrological Discourse, concerning the effects of two Lunar Eclipses, and one formidable one of the Sun in that year. He begins:

It was as wisely as truly observed by the learned historian Thucydides, that some years before those three-and-twenty years Peleponnesian wars of the miserable Greeks among themselves, wherein every city or commonwealth of Greece was in one kind or other engaged, "that those things which in former times there went only a fame of, though rarely in fact confirmed, were then made credible by the en-

suing bloody wars of the Grecians one with another. The forerunners of which quarrels he saith were these; earthquakes general to the greatest part of the world, and most violent withal; eclipses of the sun oftener than is reported of any former time; great droughts," &c.

If we in Europe, or many kingdoms, people, and nations herein, are hastening unto such disastrous times and accidents as our author delivers unto posterity then to have happened, let God be glorified, who hath not been wanting in these worst of days and times, by many signal prodigies, so opportunely seen and felt by many men in several countries, to admonish and forewarn even us English, as well as many other kingdoms and nations, what he intends suddenly to do. Very many and admirable have been the prodigies, which of late years have appeared in the dominions of the king of Spain; as first, that never to be paralleled uproar and tumult of the people in Naples in July 1647, at what time they made Masaniello, a poor fisherman, their captain general, who for some days, had the clearest and absolutest command over the people, that ever any history mentions, as it is excellently set forth in two little treatises by the delicate pen of James Howel, esq. [Then, after mentioning a great inundation in Spain, in the year 1651, he remarks:]

These prodigious tumults, and more than ordinary

swellings of the sea-banks, and furious inundations of waters, are most assured messengers of God's wrath and anger unto mankind; we all know the universal deluge, and almost whole drowning of all mankind, did immediately succeed after the cătaracts of heaven were let lōose; you shall only hear the opinion of two or three learned authors, what is the natural signification of such extraordinary effluxions of waters, or other excursion of any one of the elements. [Then quoting Cardanus and Peucerus for authorities, he proceeds.] Nor have the waters or seas at any time to no purpose thus swelled or overflowed their banks, or the winds so impetuously or boisterously roared. Very few are the people or nations where such horrible and unusual eruptions have appeared, but they have learned by woful experience, that not many years after these outrageous swellings, the people of that nation where these were have miserably smarted with immediate succeeding mischiefs, viz. either the incursions of strangers' forces, armies, or the like, into their countries, or else a great decay, consumption, or wasting of their men, together with bloodshed and other woeful calamities concomitant. Of which prodigious irruption then happening, and some aërial sights or prodigies lately seen in the State's dominions, I mean in the Hollanders', that prudential people will, I hope, take special notice, (it concerneth both Holland and Zealand so

to do) and in a greater measure, the rulers or governors of those provinces, towns, or cities therein seated: for, *inundatio res est sinistra, malique ominis.* * * If therefore the chain of nature be unloosed, and the enclosures of waters plucked up, so that they get forth of their own proper channels or bounds, or overflow the earth or ground with a lawless mastery of violence; this is not done by fortune or chance; but it comes to pass by divine command. That people may be as well sensible of some fearful slaughters at hand for punishing the wretchedness of men, as of factions, intestine divisions, armies of enemies, or plague and famine to be approaching, &c.

Our prophet seems to be surpassed by none of his predecessors in the commendable virtue of caution. His cautionary advice to the Hollanders and Zealanders is very judiciously given. This writer perhaps would not have deserved a place in the present list, had it not been to show the folly of his age.

WHITELOCKE.

BULSTRODE WHITELOCKE, the famous lawyer, politician, and writer of memoirs, was the son of sir James Whitelocke, knight, and born 1605, in Fleet-street, London. He was initiated in grammatical learning at Merchant Taylors' school; whence he removed, in 1620, to St. John's College, Oxford, of which Laud, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, was then president.

He left college without a degree, and became a student of the Middle Temple. In the beginning of the long parliament, he was chosen a burgess for Marlow, in Buckinghamshire, and was chairman of the committee for drawing up the charge against the earl of Strafford, and one of the managers at his trial. In 1642-3, he was nominated one of the commissioners to treat of peace with the king, at Oxford; and had a similar commission in 1644.

The same year he apprised Cromwell, that the earl of Essex designed to accuse him as an incendiary; for which friendly office he obtained the favour and confidence of that usurper. The year following, he was appointed one of the commissioners of the admiralty, in which situation he was suspected of holding correspondence with the royalists; but the suspicion, it seems, was unfounded. In 1646, he was sent for by Fairfax, when laying siege to Oxford, to be one of his council of war; on which occasion he expressed great reluctance to come to extremity with the university, and proposed an accommodation with the garrison. In 1647-8, he was made one of the four commissioners of the great seal; and soon after, attorney of the duchy of Lancaster. In December of the same year, he retired to the country, that he may have no hand in the king's trial.

He was constituted, in 1648-9, keeper of the king's library and medals. His own account of this appointment is worth transcribing, as it shows how narrowly we escaped the entire loss of those valuable collections*. "Being informed (says he) of a design in some to have them sold and transported beyond sea, which I

* Memorials, p. 415.

thought would be a dishonour and damage to our nation, and to all scholars therein; and fearing that in other hands they might be more subject to embezzling; and being willing to preserve them for public use, I did accept of the trouble of being library keeper at St. James's, and therein was encouraged and much persuaded to it by Mr. Selden, who swore that if I did not undertake the charge of them, all those rare monuments of antiquity, those choice books and MSS. would be lost; and there were not the like of them, except only in the Vatican, in any other library in Christendom." Whitelocke afterwards went ambassador to Sweden; became one of the commissioners of the exchequer; was chosen, in 1656, speaker of the House of Commons *pro tempore;* and the year following was summoned by the protector to sit in the upper house, by the title of Bulstrode, lord Whitelocke. In 1659, he was made president of the council of state, one of the committee of safety, and keeper of the great seal *pro tempore.* The same year, however, he withdrew to the country, from an apprehension of being sent to the Tower by the rump parliament, then newly restored, and continued there, chiefly at Chilton, in Wilt-

shire, for the remainder of his life. He died in 1675-6.

1. The work for which chiefly posterity is indebted to Whitelocke, is his "Memorials of the English Affairs; or an Historical Account of what passed from the Beginning of the Reign of King Charles the First to King Charles the Second his happy Restoration; containing the Public Transactions, Civil and Military, together with the private Consultations and Secrets of the Cabinet." Folio. It was first published in 1682; but the second edition, in 1732, contains many additions, and a better index. The editor of the first edition observes in his preface—"Our author sometimes writes up to the dignity of an historian, and elsewhere is content barely to set down occurrences diary-wise, without melting down or refining the ore, and improving those hints and rudiments to the perfection and true standard of an history. The truth is, our author never intended this for a book in print; nor meant otherwise by it than as a book for his memory and private use. Yet such was his relation to the public, so eminent his station, and so much was he upon the stage during all the time of action, that the particulars of his diary go

very far towards a perfect history of those times."

The Speech of Oliver Cromwell on his dissolving the Parliament.

Gentlemen,

I perceive you are here as the house of parliament, by your speaker, whom I see here, and by your faces, which are in a great measure known to me.

When I first met you in this room, it was, to my apprehension, the hopefullest day that ever mine eyes saw, as to considerations of this world; for I did look at (as wrapt up in you, together with myself,) the hopes and happiness of (though not of the greatest, yet a very great, and) the best people in the world; and truly and unfeignedly I thought so; as a people that have the highest and the clearest profession among them, of the greatest glory, (to wit) religion; as a people that have been like other nations, sometimes up and sometimes down, in our honour in the world, but yet never so low but we might measure with other nations; and a people that have had a stamp upon them from God, God having (as it were) summed all our former glory and honour, in the things that are of glory to nations, in an epitome

within these ten or twelve years last past; so that we knew one another at home, and are well known abroad. * * * *

I came with very great joy, and contentment, and comfort, the first time I met you in this place; but we and these are, for the present, under some disappointment. If I had purposed to have played the orator, which I did never affect, nor do, nor I hope shall, I doubt not but upon easy suppositions, which I am persuaded every one among you will grant, we did not meet upon such hopes as these.

I met you a second time here, and I confess, at that meeting, I had much abatement of my hopes, though not a total frustration. I confess, that that which damped my hopes so soon was somewhat that did look like a parricide. It is obvious enough unto you, that the management of affairs did savour of a not-owning, too, too much savour, I say, of a not-owning the authority that called you hither; but God left us not without an expedient that gave a second possibility; shall I say, a possibility? It seemed to me a probability of recovering out of that dissatisfied condition we were all then in, towards some mutuality of satisfaction, and therefore, by that recognition, suiting with the indenture that returned you hither, to which afterwards also was added your own declaration, conformable to, and in acceptance of that expedient, whereby you had (though with a

little check) another opportunity renewed unto you to have made this nation as happy as it could have been, if every thing had smoothly run on from that first hour of your meeting.

And indeed (you will give me liberty of my thoughts and hopes) I did think, as I have formerly found in that way, that I have been engaged as a soldier, that some affronts put upon us, some disasters at the first, have made way for very great and happy successes.

And I did not at all despond, but the stop put upon you, would in like manner have made way for a blessing from God, that that interruption being, as I thought, necessary to divert you from destructive and violent proceedings, to give time for better deliberations; whereby leaving the government as you found it, you might have proceeded to have made those good and wholesome laws, which the people expected from you; and might have answered the grievances, and settled those other things proper to you as a parliament, and for which you would have thanks from all that intrusted you. * * * *

If I have had any melancholy thoughts, I have sat down by them; why might it not have been very lawful to me, to think that I was a person judged unconcerned in all these businesses? I can assure you, I have not reckoned myself, nor did I reckon myself unconcerned in you; and so long as any just patience

could support my expectation, I would have waited to the uttermost to have received from you the issues of your consultations and resolutions. I have been careful of your safety, and the safety of those that you represented, to whom I reckon myself a servant. * * * *

I say I have been caring for you, your quiet sitting, caring for your privileges, (as I said before) that they might not be interrupted; have been seeking of God, from the great God, a blessing upon you, and a blessing upon these nations; I have been consulting, if possibly I might in any thing promote, in my place, the real good of this parliament, of the hopefulness of which I have said so much unto you. * * * *

I will tell you somewhat, that (if it be not news to you) I wish you had taken very serious consideration of; if it be news, I wish I had acquainted you with it sooner; and yet if any man will ask me why I did not, the reason is given already, because I did make it my business to give no interruption.

There be some trees that will not grow under the shadow of other trees; there be some that choose (a man may say so by way of allusion) to thrive under the shadow of other trees; I will tell you what hath thriven; I will not say what you have cherished under your shadow, that were too hard. Instead the peace and settlement, instead of mercy and

being brought together, righteousness and peace kissing each other, by reconciling the honest people of these nations, and settling the woful distempers that are amongst us, (which had been glorious things, and worthy of christians to have proposed) weeds and nettles, briars and thorns, have thriven under your shadow; dissettlement and division, discontentment and dissatisfaction, together with real dangers to the whole, have been more multiplied within these five months of your sitting, than in some years before.

Foundations have been also laid for the future renewing the troubles of these nations by all the enemies of it, abroad and at home. Let not these words seem too sharp, for they are true as any mathematical demonstrations are or can be; I say, the enemies of the peace of these nations, abroad and at home, the discontented humours throughout these nations, which I think no man will grudge to call by that name, or to make to allude to briars and thorns, they have nourished themselves under your shadow.

And that I may be clearly understood, they have taken the opportunities from your sitting, from the hopes they had, which, with easy conjecture, they might take up, and conclude that there would be no settlement, and therefore they have framed their designs, preparing for the execution of them accordingly. * * * *

I say unto you, whilst you have been in the midst of these transactions, that party, that cavalier party, (I could wish some of them had thrust in here to have heard what I say,) the cavalier party have been designing and preparing to put this nation in blood again with a witness; but because I am confident there are none of that sort here, therefore I shall say the less to that; only this I must tell you, that they have been making great preparations of arms, and I do believe will be made evident unto you, that they have raked out many thousand of arms, even all that this city could afford, for divers months last past. * * * *

Now such as these also are grown up under your shadow. But it will be asked, what have they done? I hope, though they pretend the commonwealth's interest, they have had no encouragement from you, but that as before, rather taken it, than that you have administered any cause unto them for so doing, from delays, from hopes, that this parliament would not settle, from pamphlets mentioning strange votes and resolves of yours, which I hope did abuse you.

Thus you see, whatever the grounds were, these have been the effects. And thus I have laid these things before you, and others will be easily able to judge how far you are concerned. * * * *

Is there not yet upon the spirits of men a strange itch? Nothing will satisfy them, unless they can put

parliament, and this was thought most agreeable to the general sense of the nation, having had experience enough by trial of other conclusions; judging this most likely to avoid the extremes of monarchy on the one hand, and democracy on the other, and yet not to found *dominium in gratiâ*. And if so, then certainly to make it more than a notion, it was requisite that it should be as it is in the government, which puts it upon a true and equal balance. It has been already submitted to the judicious honest people of this nation, whether the balance be not equal; and what their judgment is, is visible by submission to it, by acting upon it, by restraining their trustees from meddling with it; and it neither asks nor needs any better ratification. But when trustees in parliament shall by experience find any evil in any parts of the government, referred by the government itself to the consideration of the protector and parliament, (of which time itself will be the best discoverer,) how can it be reasonably imagined that a person or persons coming in by election, and standing under such obligations, and so limited and so necessitated by oath to govern for the people's good, and to make their love, under God, the best under-propping, and their best interest to him; how can it, I say, be imagined, that the present or succeeding protectors will refuse to agree to alter any such thing in the government that may be found to be for the good of the

people, or to recede from any thing which he might be convinced casts the balance too much to the single person? And although for the present, the keeping up and having in his power the militia seems the most hard, yet if it should be yielded up at such a time as this, when there is as much need to keep this cause by it (which is most evident at this time impugned by all the enemies of it) as there was to get it, what would become of all? Or if it should not be equally placed in him and the parliament, but yielded up at any time, it determines his power either for doing the good he ought, or hindering parliaments from perpetuating themselves, or from imposing what religions they please on the consciences of men, or what government they please upon the nation; thereby subjecting us to dissettlement in every parliament, and to the desperate consequences thereof; and if the nation shall happen to fall into a blessed peace, how easily and certainly will their charge be taken off, and their forces be disbanded; and then where will the danger be to have the militia thus stated?

What if I should say, if there should be a disproportion or disequality as to the power, it is on the other hand; and if this be so, wherein have you had cause to quarrel? What demonstrations have you held forth to settle me to your opinion? Would you had made me so happy as to let me have known your

grounds? I have made a free and ingenuous confession of my faith to you, and I could have wished it had been in your hearts to have agreed that some friendly and cordial debates might have been towards mutual conviction; was there none amongst you to move such a thing? No fitness to listen to it? No desire of a right understanding? If it be not folly in me to listen to town-talk, such things have been proposed, and rejected with stiffness and severity, once and again; was it not likely to have been more advantageous to the good of this nation? I will say this to you for myself, and to that I have my conscience as a thousand witnesses, and I have my comfort and contentment in it, and I have the witness of divers here that I think truly scorn to own me in a lie, that I would not have been averse to any alteration, of the good of which I might have been convinced, although I could not have agreed to the taking it off the foundation on which it stands, viz. *the acceptation and consent of the people.*

I will not presage what you have been about or doing in all this time, or do I love to make conjectures; but I must tell you this, that as I undertook this government in the simplicity of my heart, and as before God, and to do the part of an honest man, and to be true to the interest which in my conscience is dear to many of you, (though it is not always understood what God in his wisdom may hide from us,

as to peace and settlement) so I can say, that no particular interest, either of myself, estate, honour, or family, are or have been prevalent with me to this undertaking.

For if you had upon the old government offered to me this one thing I speak, as thus advised, and before God, as having been to this day of this opinion, and this hath been my constant judgment, well known to many that hear me speak—if this one thing had been inserted, that one thing, that this government should have been, and placed in my family hereditary, I would have rejected it, and I could have done no other, according to my present conscience and light. I will tell you my reason, though I cannot tell what God will do with me, nor you, nor the nation, for throwing away precious opportunities committed to us.

This hath been my principle, and I liked it when this government came first to be proposed to me, that it puts us off that hereditary way, well looking, that as God had declared what government he had delivered to the Jews, and placed it upon such persons as had been instrumental for the conduct and deliverance of his people; and considering that promise in Isaiah, that God would *give rulers as at the first, and judges as at the beginning*, I did not know, but that God might begin, and thought, at present, with a most unworthy person, yet as to the future,

it might be after this manner, and I thought this might usher it in. I am speaking as to my judgment against making it hereditary, to have men chosen for their love to God, and to truth and justice, and not to have it hereditary: for as it is in Ecclesiastes, *Who knoweth whether he may beget a fool or wise*, honest or not, whatever they be, they must come in upon that account, because the government is made a patrimony. * * * *

Now to speak a word or two to you, of that I must profess in the name of the same Lord, and wish that there had been no cause that I should have thus spoken to you; and though I have told you that I came with joy the first time; with some regret the second; that now I speak with most regret of all.

I look upon you, as having among you many persons, that I could lay down my life individually for; I could through the grace of God desire to lay down my life for you; so far am I from having an unkind or unchristian heart towards you in your particular capacities. * * * *

Supposing this cause, or this business must be carried on, either it is of God or of man; if it be of man, I would I had never touched it with a finger; if I had not had a hope fixed in me that this cause and this business is of God, I would many years ago have run from it: if it be of God, he will bear it up. If it be of man, it will tumble, as every thing that

hath been of man, since the world began, hath done. And what are all our histories, and other traditions of actions in former times, but God manifesting himself that he hath shaken, and tumbled down, and trampled upon every thing that he hath not planted? and as this is, so the all-wise God deal with it.

If this be of human structure and invention, and it be an old plotting and contrivance to bring things to this issue, and that they are not the births of providence, then they will tumble. But if the Lord take pleasure in England, and if he will do us good, he is able to bear us up; let the difficulties be whatsoever they will, we shall in his strength be able to encounter with them. And I bless God I have been inured to difficulties, and I never found God failing when I trusted in him; I can laugh and sing in my heart when I speak of these to you or elsewhere. And though some may think it is an hard thing without parliamentary authority to raise money upon this nation; yet I have another argument to the good people of this nation, if they would be safe and have no better principle—whether they prefer the having of their will, though it be their destruction, rather than comply with things of necessity—that will excuse me; but I should wrong my native country to suppose this. * * * *

But if any man shall object, it is an easy thing to talk of necessities when men create necessities;

would not the lord protector make himself great, and his family great? Doth not he make these necessities? and then he will come upon the people with this argument of necessity.

This were something hard indeed, but I have not yet known what it is to make necessities, whatsoever the judgments or thoughts of men are. And I say this, not only to this assembly, but to the world, that that man liveth not that can come to me, and charge me that I have in these great revolutions made necessities; I challenge even all that fear God; and as God hath said, *My glory I will not give unto another;* let men take heed and be twice advised, how they call his revolutions the things of God, and his working of things from one period to another; how, I say, they call them necessities of men's creation; for by so doing they do vilify and lessen the works of God, and rob him of his glory, which he hath said, he *will not give* unto another, nor suffer to be taken from him. We know what God did to Herod when he was applauded, and did not acknowledge God; and God knoweth what he will do with men when they shall call his revolutions human designs, and so detract from his glory, when they have not been forecast, but sudden providence in things, whereby carnal and worldly men are encaged, and under, and at which many, I fear, (some good,) have murmured and repined, because disappointed of their

mistaken fancies; but still they have been the wise disposings of the Almighty, though instruments have had their passions and frailties; and I think it is an honour to God to acknowledge the necessities to have been of God's imposing, when truly they have been so, as indeed they have, when we take our sin in our actings to ourselves, and much more safe than judge things so contingent, as if there were not a God that ruled the earth. * * * *

It was, say some, the cunning of the lord protector, (I take it to myself) it was the craft of such a man, and his plot, that hath brought it about. And as they say in other countries, there are five or six cunning men in England that have skill, they do all these things: Oh what blasphemy is this! because men *that are without God in the world*, and walk not with him, and know not what it is to pray, or believe, and to receive returns from God, and to be spoken unto by the spirit of God, who speaks without a written word sometimes, yet according to it: God hath spoken heretofore in divers manners; let him speak as he pleaseth. Hath he not given us liberty? Nay, is it not our duty to go to the law and to the testimonies, and there we shall find that there have been impressions in extraordinary cases, as well without the written word as with it? and therefore there is no difference in the thing thus asserted, from truths generally received, except we will exclude the

spirit, without whose concurrence all other teachings are ineffectual. * * * *

I may be thought to press too much upon this theme, but I pray God it may stick upon your hearts and mine; the worldly minded man knows nothing of this, but is a stranger to it; and because of this his atheism and murmurings at instruments, yea, repining at God himself; and no wonder, considering the Lord hath done such things amongst us as have not been known in the world these thousand years, and yet notwithstanding is not owned by us. * * * * *

I have troubled you with a long speech, and I believe it may not have the same resentment with all that it hath with some; but because that is unknown to me, I shall leave it to God, and conclude with that I think myself bound in my duty to God, and the people of these nations, to their safety and good in every respect; I think it my duty to tell you, that it is not for the profit of these nations, nor for common and public good, for you to continue here any longer; and therefore, I do declare unto you, THAT I DO DISSOLVE THIS PARLIAMENT.

The above extract contains perhaps not more than one half of the entire speech; yet, what is omitted is of far less value. The speech

furnishes no mean specimen of Cromwell's talents as an orator. It is marked, too, with all his characteristic hypocrisy.

2. Whitelocke also wrote, "Memorials of the English Affairs, from the supposed Expedition of Brute to this Island, to the end of the Reign of King James I." Published from his original MS. with some account of his life and writings, by William Penn, esq. governor of Pennsylvania; and a preface by James Welwood, M.D. 1709, folio.

3. There are, besides, various speeches of his own in his "Memorials," and in other collections.

SIR THOMAS BROWN,

An eminent physician and writer, son of Mr. Thomas Brown, merchant, of London, descended of an ancient and respectable family in Cheshire, was born in 1605, in Cheapside, London. He was educated first at Winchester College, and afterwards, 1623, entered gentleman commoner of Broad-gate-Hall, since Pembroke College, Oxford, as student of medicine. Having taken his degrees in arts, he practiced physic for some time in Oxfordshire. But his mother marrying sir Thomas Dutton, an official man under the government of Ireland, he accompanied her and his step-father to that island, where he visited all the fortresses of the kingdom. This journey inducing an inclination to travel, he made the tour of France and Italy; and having remained for some time at Montpelier, and at Padua, he came back to

Holland, where, at Leyden, he took the degree of doctor of physic.

Returning to England about 1634, he settled, two years after, at Norwich; and the year following, 1637, was incorporated doctor of physic at Oxford. On account of his great reputation as a physician, he was subsequently made honorary fellow of the royal college of physicians in London. He was knighted in 1671, by Charles the Second, in his progress through Norwich, with singular marks of consideration; and died in 1682.

1. The first of his productions was the *Religio Medici*, or, The Religion of a Physician, written in 1635. This piece, having been communicated to various persons, became much corrupted by transcription, and in this state was surreptitiously printed, which induced the author to publish a correct copy of it from the original. It is divided into two parts; the first containing his confession of faith, all his curious religious opinions and feelings; the second a confession of his charity, i. e. all his human feelings.

I shall select a specimen or two from each.

On the Wisdom of God.

His [God's] actions are not begot with deliberation, his wisdom naturally knows what is best; his intellect stands ready fraught with the superlative and purest ideas of goodness; consultation and election, which are two motions in us, make but one in him, his actions springing from his power, at the first touch of his will. These are contemplations metaphysical; my humble speculations have another method, and are content to trace and discover those expressions he hath left in his creatures, and the obvious effects of nature; there is no danger to profound these mysteries, no "*sanctum sanctorum*" in philosophy. The world was made to be inhabited by beasts, but studied and contemplated by man: it is the debt of our reason we owe unto God, and the homage we pay for not being beasts; without this, the world is still as though it had not been, or as it was before the sixth day, when as yet there was not a creature that could conceive, or say there was a world. The wisdom of God receives small honour from those vulgar heads that rudely stare about, and with a gross rusticity admire his works. Those highly magnify him, whose judicious enquiry into his acts, and deliberate research into his creatures, return the duty of a devout and learned admiration. * * * *

The second part contains various passages, which elucidate the author's very curious, yet estimable character; and on that account will probably be the most generally interesting.

On Pride.

I thank God, amongst those millions of vices I do inherit and hold from Adam, I have escaped one, and that a mortal enemy to charity, the first and father sin, not only of man, but of the devil—pride; a vice, whose name is comprehended in a monosyllable, but in its nature not circumscribed by a world. I have escaped it in a condition that can hardly avoid it. Those petty acquisitions and reputed perfections that advance and elevate the conceits of other men, add no feathers unto mine. I have seen a grammarian tour and plume himself over a single line in Horace, and shew more pride in the construction of one ode, than the author in the composure of the whole book. For my own part, besides the jargon and *patois* of several provinces, I understand no less than six languages; yet I protest I have no higher conceit of myself than had our fathers before the confusion of Babel, when there was but one language in the world, and none to boast himself either linguist or critic. I have not only seen several countries, beheld the nature of their climes, the chorography of their provinces, topography of their

cities, but understood their several laws, customs, and policies; yet cannot all this persuade the dulness of my spirit unto such an opinion of myself as I behold in nimbler and conceited heads, that never looked a degree beyond their nests. I know the names, and somewhat more, of all the constellations in my horizon, yet I have seen a prating mariner that could only name the pointers and the north star, outtalk me, and conceit himself a whole sphere above me. I know most of the plants of my country, and of those about me; yet methinks I do not know so many as when I did but know a hundred, and had scarcely ever simpled further than Cheapside: for indeed, heads of capacity, and such as are not full with a handful, or easy measure of knowledge, think they know nothing till they know all; which being impossible, they fall upon the opinion of Socrates, and only know they know not any thing.

His opinion of the commerce between the sexes, for its oddity, is worth extracting.

I was never yet once, and commend their resolutions, who never marry twice. Not that I disallow of second marriage; as neither in all cases of polygamy, which considering some times, and the unequal number of both sexes, may be also necessary.

The whole world was made for man, but the twelfth part of man for woman. Man is the whole world, and the breath of God; woman the rib, and crooked piece of man. I could be content that we might procreate, like trees, without conjunction, or that there were any way to perpetuate the world without this trivial and vulgar way of coition; it is the foolishest act a wise man commits in all his life, nor is there any thing that will more deject his cooled imagination, when he shall consider what an odd and unworthy piece of folly he hath committed. I speak not in prejudice, nor am averse from that sweet sex, but naturally amorous of all that is beautiful. I can look a whole day with delight upon a handsome picture, though it be but of a horse. It is my temper, and I like it the better, to affect all harmony; and sure there is music even in the beauty, and the silent note which Cupid strikes, far sweeter than the sound of an instrument.

On Himself.

Now for my life, it is a miracle of thirty years, which to relate were not a history, but a piece of poetry, and would sound to common ears like a fable. For the world, I count it not an inn, but an hospital; and a place not to live, but to die in. The world

that I regard is myself; it is the microcosme of mine own frame, that I cast mine eye on: for the other, I use it but like my globe, and turn it round sometimes for my recreation. Men that look upon my outside, perusing only my condition and fortunes, do err in my altitude; for I am above Atlas his shoulders. The earth is a point, not only in respect of the heavens above us, but of that heavenly and celestial part within us. That mass of flesh that circumscribes me, limits not my mind; that surface that tells the heavens they have an end, cannot persuade me I have any. I take my circle to be above three hundred and sixty. Though the number of the ark do measure my body, it comprehendeth not my mind. Whilst I study to find how I am a microcosm, or little world, I find myself something more than the great. There is surely a piece of divinity in us, something that was before the elements, and owes no homage unto the sun. Nature tells me I am the image of God, as well as Scripture. He that understands not thus much, hath not his introductions or first lesson, and is yet to begin the alphabet of man. Let me not injure the felicity of others, if I say I am as happy as any. *Ruat cœlum, fiat voluntas tua*, salveth all; so that whatsoever happens, it is but what our daily prayers desire. In brief, I am content, and what should providence add more? Surely this is it we call happiness, and this do I enjoy; with this I am

happy in a dream, and as content to enjoy a happiness in a fancy, as others in a more apparent truth and reality. There is surely a nearer apprehension of any thing that delights us in our dreams, than in our waked senses. Without this I were unhappy; for my awaked judgment discontents me, ever whispering unto me, that I am from my friend; but my friendly dreams in night requite me, and make me think I am in his arms. I thank God for my happy dreams, as I do for my good rest; for there is a satisfaction in them unto reasonable desires, and such as can be content with a fit of happiness. And surely it is not a melancholy conceit to think we are all asleep in this world, and that the conceits of this life are as mere dreams to those of the next, as the phantasms of the night to the conceits of the day. There is an equal delusion in both, and the one doth but seem to be the emblem or picture of the other; we are somewhat more than ourselves in our sleeps, and the slumber of the body seems to be but the waking of the soul. It is the ligation of sense, but the liberty of reason, and our waking conceptions do not match the fancies of our sleeps. At my nativity my ascendent was the earthly sign of *Scorpius;* I was born in the planetary hour of Saturn, and I think I have a piece of that leaden planet in me. I am no way facetious, nor disposed for the mirth and galliardize of company; yet in one dream I can com-

pose a whole comedy, behold the action, apprehend the jests, and laugh myself awake at the conceits thereof. Were my memory as faithful as my reason is then fruitful, I would never study but in my dreams; and this time also would I choose for my devotions; but our grosser memories have then so little hold of our abstracted understandings, that they forget the story, and can only relate to our awaked souls a confused and broken tale of that that hath passed.

The *Religio Medici* was, on its publication, much talked of in the literary world. It exhibits various marks of a superior mind, and of a cast of thought strikingly peculiar and original. Having been translated into Latin, and several other languages, it was thus dispersed throughout Europe. By foreigners, in particular, it brought upon him the charge of atheism, though there can be little question that he was a friend both to natural and revealed religion.

2. In 1646, he published his "*Pseudodoxia Epidemica*; or, Enquiries into very many received Tenets and commonly presumed Truths." The more popular title of this book is

"Brown's Vulgar Errors;" it is probably the most known of all his works. He treats his subject very methodically; first considering the general causes of error, and then enquiring into the origin of each in particular. The treatise is divided into seven books; of which the first contains his general principles. In the second, he treats of errors arising from mineral and vegetable bodies; in the third, of errors relative to animals; in the fourth, of those which respect man; in the fifth, of things questionable in pictures; in the sixth, of geographical and philosophical errors; and in the seventh, of errors relating to history. On account of the rather copious extracts from the preceding article, and of those I intend giving from the next, I must decline exhibiting a specimen from this; and shall only observe, that notwithstanding the singularity and quaintness which pervade it, the work displays great learning and penetration.

3. His next production was entitled "*Hydriotaphia*—Urn-burial; or, A Discourse of the Sepulchral Urns lately found in Norfolk; together with the Garden of Cyrus; or, The *Quincuncial Lozenge*, or Net-work Plantations of the Ancients, artificially, naturally,

mystically, considered; with sundry Observations;" 1658. These treatises are extremely curious. In the *Hydriotaphia*, there is an air of elevated solemnity highly impressive, often awful. It abounds in strange and out-of-the-way observations, which betray a very singular texture of mind. On the finding of these sepulchral urns, he takes occasion to tell all he knows or can collect of ancient sepulture. But the origin of the treatise himself shall explain.

In a field of Old Walsingham, not many months past, were digged up between forty and fifty urns, deposited in a dry and sandy soil, not a yard deep, not far from one another: not all strictly of one figure, but most answering these described; some containing two pounds of bones, distinguishable in skulls, ribs, jaws, thigh-bones, and teeth, with fresh impressions of their combustion. Besides, the extraneous substances, like pieces of small boxes, or combs handsomely wrought, handles of small brass instruments, brazen nippers, and in one some kind of opal.

Near the same plot of ground, for about six yards compass, were digged up coals and incinerated substances, which begat conjecture that this was the *Ustrina*, or place of burning their bodies, or some sa-

crificing place unto the *manes*, which was properly below the surface of the ground, as the *aræ* and altars unto the gods and heroes above it.

That these were the urns of Romans, from the common custom and place where they were found, is no obscure conjecture; not far from a Roman garrison, and but five miles from Brancaster, set down by ancient record under the name of Brannodunum. And where the adjoining town, containing seven parishes, in no very different sound, but Saxon termination, still retains the name of Burnham, which being an early station, it is not improbable the neighbour parts were filled with habitations, either of Romans themselves, or Britons Romanized, which observed the Roman customs. * * * *

He that looks for urns and old sepulchral relics, must not seek them in the ruins of temples, where no religion anciently placed them. These were found in a field, according to ancient custom, in noble or private burial; the old practice of the Canaanites, the family of Abraham, and the burying place of Joshua, in the borders of his possessions; and also agreeable unto Roman practice, to bury by highways, whereby their monuments were under eye; memorials of themselves, and mementos of mortality unto living passengers, whom the epitaphs of great ones were fain to beg to stay and look upon them—a language, though sometimes used, not so

proper in church inscriptions. The sensible rhetoric of the dead to exemplarity of good life, first admitted the bones of pious men, and martyrs, within church-walls, which in succeeding ages crept into promiscuous practice. While Constantine was peculiarly favoured to be admitted unto the church porch; and the first thus buried in England was in the days of Cuthred. * * *

Severe contemplators, observing these lasting relics, may think them good monuments of persons past, little advantage to future beings. And considering that power which subdueth all things unto itself, that can resume the scattered atoms, or identify out of any thing, conceive it superfluous to expect a resurrection out of relics. But the soul subsisting, other matter clothed with due accidents, may salve the individuality. * * *

The particulars of future beings must needs be dark unto ancient theories, which christian philosophy yet determines, but in a cloud of opinions. A dialogue between two infants in the womb, concerning the state of this world, might handsomely illustrate our ignorance of the next, whereof methinks we yet discourse in Plato's den, and are but embryon philosophers. * * *

Now since these dead bones have already outlasted the living ones of Methuselah, and in a yard under ground, and thin walls of clay, out-worn all

the strong and spacious buildings above it; and quietly rested under the drums and tramplings of three conquests; what prince can promise such diuturnity unto his relics, or might not gladly say,

Sic ego componi versus in ossa velim. TIBUL.

Time, which antiquates antiquities, and hath an art to make dust of all things, hath yet spared these minor monuments. In vain we hope to be known by open and visible conservatories, when to be unknown was the means of their continuation, and obscurity their protection. * * What song the syrens sang, or what name Achilles assumed when he hid himself among women, though puzzling questions, are not beyond all conjecture. What time the persons of these ossuaries entered the famous nations of the dead, and slept with princes and counsellors, might admit a wide solution. But who were the proprietaries of these bones, or what bodies these ashes made up, were a question above antiquarism. Not to be resolved by man, not easily perhaps by spirits, except we consult the provincial guardians, or tutelary observators. Had they made as good provision for their names, as they have done for their relics, they had not so grossly erred in the art of perpetuation. But to subsist in bones, and be but paramidally extant, is a fallacy in duration—vain ashes, which in the oblivion of names, persons, times,

and sexes, have found unto themselves a fruitless continuation, and only arise unto late posterity, as emblems of mortal vanities, antidotes against pride, vain-glory, and madding vices. * * * *

Circles and right lines limit and close all bodies, and the mortal right-lined circle* must conclude and shut up all. There is no antidote against the opium of time, which temporally considereth all things; our fathers find their graves in our short memories, and sadly tell us how we may be buried in our survivors. Grave-stones tell truth scarce forty years: generations pass while some trees stand, and old families last not three oaks. To be read by bare inscriptions, like many in Gruter†, to hope for eternity by ænigmatical epithets, or first letters of our names, to be studied by antiquaries, who we were, and have new names given us, like many of the mummies, are cold consolations unto the students of perpetuity, even by everlasting languages.

To be content that times to come should only know there was such a man, not caring whether they knew more of him, was a frigid ambition in Cardan; disparaging his horoscopal inclination and judgment of himself. Who cares to subsist like Hippocrates' patients, or Achilles' horses in Homer, under naked

* The character of death.

† Old ones being taken up, and other bodies laid under them. *Gruteri inscriptiones antiquæ.*

nominations, without deserts and noble acts, which are the balsam of our memories, the *entelechia* and soul of our subsistencies? To be nameless in worthy deeds exceeds an infamous history. The Canaanitish woman lives more happily without a name than Herodias with one. And who had not rather have been the good thief than Pilate?

But the iniquity of oblivion blindly scattereth her poppy, and deals with the memory of men without distinction to merit of perpetuity. Who can but pity the founder of the pyramids? Herostratus lives, that burnt the temple of Diana; *he* is almost lost that built it. Time hath spared the epitaph of Adrian's horse, confounded that of himself. In vain we compute our felicities by the advantage of our good names, since bad have equal durations; and Thersites is like to live as long as Agamemnon, without the favour of the everlasting register. Who knows whether the best of men be known, or whether there be not more remarkable persons forgot, than any that stand remembered in the known account of time? The first man had been as unknown as the last, and Methuselah's long life had been his only chronicle.

Oblivion is not to be hired; the greater part must be content to be as though they had not been; to be found in the register of God, not in the record of man. * * A great part of antiquity contented

their hopes of subsistency with a transmigration of their souls. A good way to continue their memories, while having the advantage of plural successions, they could not but act something remarkable in such variety of beings, and enjoying the fame of their past selves, make accumulation of glory unto their last durations. Others, rather than be lost in the uncomfortable night of nothing, were content to recede into the common being, and make one particle of the public soul of all things, which was no more than to return into their unknown and divine original again. Egyptian ingenuity was more unsatisfied, contriving their bodies in sweet consistencies, to attend the return of their souls. But all was vanity, feeding the wind, and folly. The Egyptian mummies, which Cambyses or time hath spared, avarice now consumeth; mummy is become merchandize, Mizraim cures wounds, and Pharoah is sold for balsams.

In vain do individuals hope for immortality, or any patent from oblivion in preservations below the moon. Men have been deceived, even in their flatteries, above the sun, and studied conceits to perpetuate their names in heaven. The various cosmography of that part hath already varied the names of contrived constellations; Nimrod is lost in Orion, and Osyris in the Dog-star. While we look for incorruption in the heavens, we find they are but like

the earth; durable in their main bodies, alterable in their parts: whereof beside comets and new stars, perspectives begin to tell tales; and the spots that wander about the sun, with Phaeton's favour, would make clear conviction.

There is nothing strictly immortal, but immortality. Whatever hath no beginning, may be confident of no end. All others have a dependent being, and within the reach of destruction, which is the peculiar of that necessary essence that cannot destroy itself, and the highest strain of omnipotency, to be so powerfully constituted, as not to suffer even from the power of itself. But the sufficiency of christian immortality frustrates all earthly glory, and the quality of either state after death makes a folly of posthumous memory. God, who can only destroy our souls, and hath assured our resurrection, either of our bodies or names, hath directly promised no duration. Wherein there is so much of chance, that the boldest expectants have found unhappy frustration; and to hold long subsistence seems but a scape in oblivion. But man is a noble animal, splendid in ashes, and pompous in the grave, solemnizing nativities and deaths with equal lustre, nor omitting ceremonies of bravery in the infamy of his nature. * * *

To subsist in lasting monuments, to live in their productions, to exist in their names, and prædica-

ment of chimeras, was large satisfaction unto old expectations, and made one part of their elysiums. But all this is nothing in the metaphysics of true belief. To live indeed is to be again ourselves, which being not only an hope, but an evidence in noble believers, it is all one to lie in St. Innocent's * church-yard, as in the sands of Egypt; ready to be any thing in the extacy of being ever, and as content with six foot as the moles of Adrianus †.

——— *Tabesne cadavera solvat*
An rogus, haud refert. ———

LUCAN.

The Urn-burial is the work of a very singular, but original mind. Brown delighted to live in the conjectural world, and lived in it so long, that conjectures and things impossible to be known, assumed the place of realities and things knowable. The finding of these sepulchral urns furnished him with an admirable occasion for the exercise of his eccentric and solemn genius. The deathy dwelling among pots and urns and gravestones and embalments, was exactly suited to call forth his grand and rambling mind; those curious considerations

* In Paris, where bodies soon consume.

† A stately mausoleum, or sepulchral pile, built by Adrianus in Rome, where now standeth the castle of St. Angelo.

of death, of all that is to be known, and all that is not to be known concerning it, which so strangely fill up the latter half of this little work. A great part of these strange thoughts are contained in the above extracts.

4. Brown moreover wrote a brief account of Iceland, from information probably derived from Theodore Jonas, his friend, who lived in that island. These were the only works published in his life-time.

His posthumous works were numerous, the first collection of which was published by Dr. Tennison, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, under the title of "Miscellaneous Tracts," containing, 1. Observations upon several Plants mentioned in Scripture. 2. Of Garlands, and coronary or garland Plants. 3. Of the Fishes catched by our Saviour with his Disciples after the Resurrection. 4. An Answer to certain Queries relating to Fishes, Birds, and Insects. 5. Of Hawks and Falconry, ancient and modern. 6. Of Cymbals and other musical Instruments. 7. Of Ropalic or gradual Verses. 8. Of Languages, particularly the Saxon. 9. Of artificial Hills, Mounts, and Burrows in many places of England. 10. Of Troas, what place is meant by that name. Also the situation of Sodom, Go-

morrah, and Zeboim. 11. Of the Answers of the Oracle of Apollo at Delphos to Crœsus. 12. A Prophecy concerning the future state of several Nations. 13. *Musæum Clausum*, containing some books, antiquities, pictures, and rarities of several kinds, scarce, or never seen by any man now living. These, with the other treatises published in his life-time, were printed in one volume, folio, Lond. 1686.—In 1690, his son, Dr. Edward Brown, published a "Letter" of his father's "to a Friend, upon occasion of the Death of his intimate Friend."

Besides this, Owen Brigstock, esq. his son-in-law by marriage, occasioned the publication of others of our author's works, from his original MSS. 1. *Repertorium*, or the Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Norwich. 2. Letters between Sir William Dugdale and Sir Thomas Brown. 3. Miscellanies. Lastly, there was published in 1761, a book in 12mo. entitled, "Christian Morals, by Sir Thomas Brown, of Norwich, M. D. and author of *Religio Medici*."

Another remarkable circumstance in the writings of Brown is his perpetual Latinisms; he was so familiar with learned writings, that he worked their style into his English. He

could not probably have expressed himself in pure English; Latin was his vernacular dialect, more natural to him than what he heard spoken; so that what in common pedants would have been affectation, (i. e. going out of their way) was in him the true way. His Latinisms are to be considered in the same light as Milton's Mythologics, which critics have condemned as pedantry; not considering that his imbibing mind had sucked in the old heathen stories, till they had acted upon him with as much force as his own faith and christian devotion. He gave a sort of Jewish or christian zeal to pagan religion, which none of their own poets or priests had in any like proportion. So of the language of Brown; its want of purity was the effect, not of pedantic affectation, but of extensive learning.

LORD BROOK.

Robert Greville, lord Brook, was grandson of Robert, younger brother of Fulk Greville, lord Brook, cousin and friend of sir Philip Sidney, &c. He was born in 1607, and was educated at Cambridge.

During the civil wars, he sided with the parliament, was made lieutenant of Warwickshire, and colonel in the army. Having reduced Warwickshire, he advanced into Staffordshire, in the command of those forces which were sent to attack the cathedral of Litchfield. This cathedral is dedicated to St. Chad. On the festival of that saint, he ordered his men to storm the adjoining close, to which lord Chesterfield had retired with a body of the king's forces. But before his orders

could be executed, he received a musket shot in the eye from a common soldier, of which he instantly expired. By some of the royalists, and particularly by the votaries of St. Chad, the shot was said to have been directed by the saint, and himself was considered as a monument of divine vengeance. By the opposite party, he was reverenced as a martyr to liberty. His death happened in 1643.

Lord Brook was a zealous patriot; he and lord Say had determined, should their own efforts and those of their countrymen be ineffectual to establish liberty, to transport themselves to New England; and the design was frustrated only by a sudden turn of affairs. He is one of those very few English cotemporary authors, whom Milton quotes with high commendation. He is curiously metaphysical; to most readers, he would probably appear dark; though the following passage, I imagine, will be found sufficiently intelligible. It contains the important metaphysical truth, that minds of the first order are the combined result of warm affections, of passion, and of intellectual excellence. The small treatise, whence the specimen is extracted, was printed in 1640, and is entitled "The Nature of Truth, its union

and unity with the Soul, which is one in its essence, faculties, acts; one with Truth—discussed by the Right Honorable Robert, Lord Brook, in a Letter to a private Friend."

The Difference betwixt Knowledge and Affection discussed.

It may be that what hath been disputed will be granted; but there is yet an objection which requireth solution.

Object. If all being differeth only in degrees, not nature; if knowledge, affection, light, activity, be all one; whence is it that even amongst christian men, holy, spiritual men, men of largest affections, (and the affections are the *activity*, the main of the soul) I say men of the largest affections are esteemed to know least of God. And others, whose affections are, as it were, benumbed, and all activity is placed in their brain, understand more of the divine nature?

Doth it not appear from hence, say they, that all being is not one, differing only in degrees: but that there are even different natures, amongst which one may excel, whilst the other is deprest?

Sol. I could tell these men, who start the objection, that they deem the light in the head more than the love in the heart; and then I shall say,

vain tumour in-
and that other of
of God in it, and

ıy to this kind of
such a point in dis-
, "if any man lust
ıch custom, nor the

·*um*. He who, re
. pleased with the
·r, can say, this is
ıdeed; yet "Jesus
lily of the field, the
weeter, ten thousand
knoweth God, this
·oweth him indeed;
· most pleasant here,
ıost profitable here-
ıost real.
! he most truly, most
· had the gift of pro-
knowledge, yea, if I
·move mountains, I
ınding brass and a
·harity." When all
·tian, as haply they
·h him what he is,

and the other beings are but as *phaleræ*, as trappings, which give a handsome *set-off*, but not a being to a christian.

Love is lovely in gods; he is stiled the God of Love, the *God Love*. And in another place, the Scripture affirmeth, that in this we have fulfilled the will of God, if we love one another; for by this we are made one with God, and so dwell in true light.

The two tables are reduced to love of God and our neighbour. So that sweet affections do make the most sweet harmony in God's ears. Of the chorus of saints, the greatest number will be found amongst the feminine sex, because these are most naturally capable of affection, and so most apt to make knowledge real. It is true, I confess, these affections misguided, led them first into transgression; but these same affections after, carried them first to the grave, then to the sight of a Saviour, gave them the enwombing of Christ, who (in some sense) might have entertained our nature in another way (if he had so pleased), and these affections will one day raise many of them into the sweet embraces of everlasting joy.

Amongst the church-officers, the pastor and the doctor, according to Timothy, are more eminent than the rest, because they labour in the word and doctrine. Of these two, the doctor is to have his sword always girt about his thigh, he must enter

into the lists with every uncircumcised Goliah. He must stand continual sentinel, that no heresies be forced upon the church. He must beat his brains in dissolving *difficilia*, and clearing *obscura*. He must sometimes faint away in watery cold fits, by picking up, and throwing out witless, sapless sophisms, which, though they cannot hurt the strong, may seduce the weak. In the mean time the pastor leadeth the flock into the sweet and pleasant meadows, feeding them by the little brooks of seemingly shallow affections; and yet this man shall not only receive equal honour with the doctor, but be preferred before him; as appeareth clearly in Eph. iv. 11.—1 Cor. xii. 26. As it was with the Israelites, so it is here; those who keep the stuff, receive equal reward with the combatants. I do therefore conclude, he who hath the largest affections hath most of God, most of his image, which is renewed in knowledge.

Thirdly, sometimes it happeneth, that those who have the largest knowledge have the most enlarged affections, even to our eye; and this is happiness indeed. I confess, it doth not seem to an eye that would read it running; but if it be exactly looked on, if it be presented to our view in the portrait of an example, I think it will be very clear.

David and Solomon, compared with Paul, will be as a thousand witnesses. The two first do seem to

outstrip all men in affection; they are brimful, running over.

For David is styled, the sweet singer of Israel; in his Psalms he is ever magnifying the rich mercies of God, choosing rather to be a door-keeper in the house of God, than to dwell in the tents of *Mesech*: making his word to be a light unto his feet, and a lantern unto his paths; placing all his delight in the law of the Lord.

Solomon is the happy penman of that hymn, which by the spirit is styled the Song of Songs. Yet for all this, they are both exceeded by St. Paul.

But some, it may be, will imagine those worthies to be endowed with higher gifts of nature and art, than St. Paul; and then they will give all the glory to their understanding, and not to their affections.

If it be so, I confess I have not fitly chosen my opposites; but the truth will then appear in them, without comparison distinctly.

For, if in affection they exceed all, and in abilities are as Saul, taller than their brethren by head and shoulders, then is it manifest in them, that eftsoon men of the most raised parts, of highest abilities, do superabound in love.

But if in things which are not directly of faith, I could cease to be a sceptic, I should with that most reverend worthy, Thomas Goodwin, give St. Paul for

head and heart, that throne in heaven which is placed next to Jesus Christ. But "secret things belong to God;" let us only compare their eminency here below. I think it will be out of question, that St. Paul was the most excellent. For though Solomon (there I suppose will be the difficulty) be said to be the wisest of men, that ever were, that ever should be; yet that is to be applied only to government, and (if it may reach so far) to his excellent skill in natural philosophy.

View but St. Paul, and see whether he doth not excel in every thing. He had gathered up vast learning at the feet of Gamaliel; for his parts he was advanced to eminent power in church and commonwealth. He saith of himself, "I profited in the Jews' religion above many my equals in my own nation, being more exceedingly zealous of the traditions of my fathers." And after his conversion, he was judged the only man fit to contend with the philosophers at Athens. For they, who seemed to be somewhat in conference, added nothing to him. And therefore to him was committed the unravelling of all the difficult knots. It is he that disputes about meats, long hair, divorces, irregular partings of husband and wife. It is he that openeth the nature of prophecy, evinceth the resurrection from the dead, maintaineth justification by faith. And that he may be perfect in knowledge, God is pleased (whether in

the flesh or spirit he knoweth not) to take him into the third heaven: and there he was so filled with revelation, that God was forced to put the Philomela-thorn under his breast, that he might not fall into the sleep of sin, and so give himself up (as Sampson) into the hands of Philistine enemies. And yet this man exceeds all men in affections, and in his affections surpasseth all his other excellencies. It is he that is often in journeys, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils by his own nation, in perils amongst the Gentiles, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils amongst false brethren, in weariness and painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness. And as he saith of himself, "Who was weak and I was not weak? Who was offended and I did not burn?" It is he that fought with the beasts at Ephesus. He is content not only to be bound, but to die for Christ.

Good St. Paul was so tender over his kinsmen according to the flesh, that for their sakes he could willingly be content to be separated from the love of the Lord Jesus Christ. And this is greater love than that which Christ mentioneth; for no man had then shewed greater love than to die; but this holy saint will go one step further, he will suffer an eternal death for his friend.

Thus, if suffering either for the head or members,

for the church, or Christ, will discover affection, I suppose he will merit the garland.

And as a compliment and crown of all, if to live be most for God's glory, though death be his advantage, he is resolved to submit, making obedience to Christ in life and death, his gain and triumph.

I confess, when he travelleth through those briary disputes, he cannot display such sparkling vivid affections: but when he hath gotten but a little above those lime-twigs, how doth he mount on high, and there, upon even wings, disdain all things below, triumphing in the embraces of his Saviour, who is to him more choice than the choicest of ten thousand!

If what I have attempted to prove be true, as I hope it is, then consider,

Either those who are eminent in affection, and otherwise know little; or those who, as they abound in one, are also masters in the others. Distinguish appearances from truth; reading, memory, discourses, effects of sense or complexion, from that which entereth the soul, becometh real there, acteth, floweth from thence as a spring: and then will you conclude, that all knowledge lieth in the affection; that all knowledge is but one, differing only in degrees.

And lastly, that all, whether knowledge or affection, is but the truth, that spiritual ray of heavenly

light which God is pleased to present to our view under several shapes, yet is but one and the same being, *scil.* light and truth.

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2. Lord Brook also wrote "A Discourse against Episcopacy," published in 1641, 4to.

FULLER.

THOMAS FULLER, historian and divine, was born at Akle, Northamptonshire, in 1608. After being initiated in grammar-learning by his father, he was sent at the early age of twelve years to Queen's College, in Cambridge, where he took his degrees in arts. He afterwards removed to Sidney College, of which he became a fellow in 1631; and at the same time obtained a prebend in the church of Salisbury. In 1641, he was chosen lecturer at the Savoy; and to shew his fidelity to the royal cause, he procured, in 1643, a nomination as chaplain to the royal army. Prior to this, however, he had been deprived of all his benefices. While with the army, he employed his leisure chiefly in making histori-

cal collections; particularly in collecting materials for his Worthies of England.

Towards the close of the war, part of the royal army, under lord Hopton, being driven into Cornwall, Fuller, by permission, took refuge at Exeter, where he resumed his studies, and was moreover appointed chaplain to the princess Henrietta Maria, who was born at Exeter in June 1643. He soon after obtained a patent from the king for his presentation to the living of Dorchester, which however he did not receive. He continued his attendance on the princess, till the surrender of Exeter to the parliament, in April 1646.

On his return to London he was chosen lecturer at St. Clement's Lane, near Lombard-street, and soon after removed to St. Bride's in Fleet-street. About 1648, he became chaplain to the earl of Carlisle, by whom he was presented with the rectory of Waltham, in Essex.

After the restoration, he also was restored to his preferments; he was moreover chosen chap ain extraordinary to the king; and in 1660, created doctor of divinity, at Cambridge, by *Mandamus*. He died in August of the year 1661.

The works of Fuller are numerous; of which the first was:

1. "The History of the Holy War." Cambridge, folio, 1640.

2. "The Holy State." Cambridge, folio, 1642.

3. "Pisgah—Sight of Palestine, and the Confines thereof, with the History of the Old and New Testament acted thereon," 1650, folio, embellished with a frontispiece, and many other copper-plates. It is divided into five books.

4. "*Abel Redivivus,*" 4to. 1651. This consists of some particular lives of religious reformers, martyrs, confessors, bishops, doctors, and other learned divines, foreign and domestic.

5. "The Church History of Britain, from the Birth of Jesus Christ to the Year 1648;" to which work are subjoined, "The History of the University of Cambridge since the Conquest; and the History of Waltham Abbey, Essex, founded by King Harold."—

On the Prodigious Number of Monasteries, Ann. 977.

Another humour of the former age (to make one digression for all) still continued and increased, vent-

ing itself in the fair foundations and stately structures of so many monasteries. So that one beholding their greatness (being co-rivals with some towns in receipt and extent) would admire that they could be so neat; and considering their neatness, must wonder they could be so great; and lastly, accounting their number will make all three the object of his amazement. Especially, seeing many of these were founded in the Saxon heptarchy, when seven kings put together did spell but one in effect. So that it may seem a miracle, what invisible Indies those petty princes were masters of, building such structures which impoverish posterity to repair them. For although some of these monasteries were the fruit of many ages, long in ripening, at several times, by sundry persons, all whose parcels and additions met at last in some tolerable uniformity; yet most of them were begun and finished, absolute and entire, by one founder alone. And although we allow that in those days artificers were procured and materials purchased at easy rates; yet there being then scarceness of corn (as a little money would then buy much ware, so much ware must first in exchange be given to provide that little money) all things being audited proportionably, the wonder still remains as great as before. But here we see with what eagerness those designs are undertaken and pursued, which proceed from blind zeal; every finger being more than a

hand to build, when they thought merit was annexed to their performances. Oh! with what might and main did they mount their walls, both day and night; erroneously conceiving, that their souls were advantaged to heaven, when taking the rise from the top of a steeple of their own erection.

Abbeys engrossed Trade, impoverished Parish Priests, encouraged Offenders.

The specious pretences of piety, and contempt of the world, abbots and monks, were notoriously covetous, even to the injury of others. Witness their renting and stocking of farms, keeping of tan-houses and brew-houses in their own hands. For though the monks themselves were too fine-nosed to dabble in tan-fatts, yet they kept others (bred in that trade) to follow their work. These convents having bark of their own woods, hides of the cattle of their own breeding and killing; and (which was the main) a large stock of money to buy at the best hand, and to allow such chapmen as they sold to a long day of payment, easily eat out such who were bred up in that vocation. Whereupon, in the one-and-twentieth of king Henry VIII. a statute was made, "that no priest, either regular or secular, should, on heavy pe-

nalties, hereafter meddle with such mechanic employments."

2. Secondly, They impoverished parish priests by decrying their performances, and magnifying their own merits. Alas! What was the single devotion of a silly priest, in comparison of a corporation of prayers (twisted cables to draw down blessings on their patrons' heads) from a whole monastery? And suppose (which was seldom done) the parson in the parish preaching to his people, yet sermons in a church once constituted were needless, as ministring matter of schisms and disputes, and at the best only profiting the present; whilst prayers benefitted as well the absent as the present, dead or living. But especially prayers of monasteries commanded heaven, pleased with the holy violence of so many and mighty petitioners. By these and other artifices, they undermined all priests in the affections of their own people, and procured from pope and prince, that many churches presentative, with their glebes and tithes, were appropriated to their convents, leaving but a poor pittance to the parish vicar; though the pope (as stiling himself but a vicar) ought to have been more sensible of their sad condition.

3. Besides appropriation of such churches, abbeys also wronged parish priests by procuring from the pope Paschal the Second, *Anno Domini* 1100, in the council of Mentz, that their demesnes, farms, and

granges (anciently paying tithes like the lands of other laymen) should hereafter be free from the same; but this exemption was afterwards, by pope Adrian the Fourth, about the year 1150, justly limitted and restrained; religious orders being enjoined the payment of tithes, of whatsoever increase they had in their own occupation (save of new improvements by culture of pasture of their cattle, and of garden fruits). Only three orders, namely, the Cestertians, Templers, and Knights Hospitallers, (otherwise called St. John's of Jerusalem) were exempted from the general payment of all tithes whatsoever.

4. And why Cestertians rather than any other order? Give me leave to conjecture three reasons thereof. 1. Adrian the Fourth, our *none* countryman, was at first a Benedictine monk of St. Albans, and these Cestertians were only Benedictines refined. 2. They were the Benjamins, one of the youngest remarkable orders of that age, and therefore made darlings (not to say wantons) by the holy father the pope. 3. It is suspicious, that by bribery in the court of Rome they might obtain this privilege so beneficial unto them. For I find that king Richard I. disposed his daughter Avarice to be married to the Cestertian order, as the most grasping and griping of all others.

I leave it others to render reasons why Templers and Hospitallers, being mere laymen, and divers times

of late adjudged in the court of Aides in Paris, "No part of the clergy should have this privilege, to be exempted from tithes." But we remember they were sword-men, and that aweth all into obedience, &c. &c.

The above extract, though it contains some curious information, is not, perhaps, a very striking specimen of Fuller's very singular style of writing. But it is difficult, out of voluminous works, always to please one's self.

6. The year after his death, or in 1662, was published his "History of the Worthies of England." He had this work in hand during seventeen years. It possesses no very high character for authenticity; yet it deserves to be consulted, since it contains many lives not to be found elsewhere prior to the author's time. It besides proposes to give an account of the native commodities, manufactures, buildings, proverbs, &c. of all the counties of England and Wales, as well as their great men in church and state. According to bishop Nicholson, the best things in it are, "The cata-

logues of the sheriffs, and the lists of the gentry, as they were returned from the several counties, twelve only excepted, in the twelfth year of Henry VI.; (and that) his chief author is Bale for the lives of his eminent writers; and those of his greatest heroes are commonly mis-shapen scraps mixed with tattle and lies."

R. Turner φιλομαθης, who laboured to revive the everlasting fame of Paracelsus, says that, "His sleeping ashes have been ignominiously unraked out of their silent grave by one whose scribbling pen was *Fuller* of scandals than modesty; his head seemed owl-like, *Fuller* of folly than wit, and his words *Fuller* of falsehood than truth; else certainly he would not have fallen so foul upon the dead whom he never knew; and if he had, was not capable of making him an answer, but dwarf-like, tramples on a dead giant." [Preface to Paracelsus of Chemical Transmutation, &c.]

Besides these works, he published sermons, and various other tracts, which it is unnecessary to particularise. His compositions abound in the quaintest wit, in puns and quibles; as if his design had been to give us

history of the church in particular, in some places, the ridiculous air of fable and romance.

Fuller was a most singular and surprising character. His memory was tenacious and extraordinary. He could repeat five hundred unconnected words after hearing them only twice, and could preach a sermon *verbatim*, which he had heard only once. In passing to and fro, from Temple-bar to the furthest end of Cheapside, he once undertook to tell at his return every sign as it stood in order, on both sides the way, repeating them either backwards or forwards; and performed it exactly.—No wonder also he was quaint! "That which was most strange and very rare in him, was his way of writing, which, something like the Chinese, was from the top of the page to the bottom; the manner thus: he would write near the margin the first words of every line down to the foot of the paper; then would, by beginning at the head again, fill up every one of these lines, which, without any interlineations or spaces, but with the full and equal length, would so adjust the sense and matter, and so aptly connex and conjoin the ends and

beginnings of the said lines, that he could not do it better (as he hath said) if he had writ it all out in a continuation." [Life of Dr. Thomas Fuller, 1661.]

MILTON.

THE biography of Milton is so familiar to every reader, that I need only observe in this place, that he was born in 1608, and died in 1674. His prose works are numerous, occupying two folio volumes. I shall enumerate them in the order in which they appeared.

1. Of Reformation in England, and the Causes that have hitherto hindered it; in two Books; written to a Friend; 1641.

2. Of Prelatical Episcopacy; and whether it may be deduced from the apostolical times, by virtue of those testimonies which are alledged to that purpose in some late treatises; one whereof goes under the name of James, archbishop of Armagh; 1641.

3. The Reason of Church Government urged against Prelacy; in two Books; 1642.—From this piece I select the following admir-

able passage. It forms the latter part of the introduction to the second book; and is particularly remarkable, as it seems to give a prophetic assurance of the "Paradise Lost," the proudest monument of his fame.

Concerning this wayward subject against prelacy, the touching whereof is so distasteful and disquietous to a number of men; as, by what hath been said, I may deserve of charitable readers to be credited, that neither envy nor gall hath entered me on this controversy; but the enforcement of conscience only, and a preventive fear, lest the omitting of this duty should be against me, when I would store up to myself the good provision of peaceable hours. So, lest it should still be imputed to me, as I have found it hath been, that some self-pleasing humour of vain glory hath incited me to contest with men of high estimation, now while green years are upon my head—from this needless surmisal I shall hope to dissuade the intelligent and equal auditor, if I can but say successfully that which in this exigent behoves me; although I would be heard only, if it might be, by the elegant and learned reader, to whom principally for a while I shall beg leave I may address myself. To him it will be no new thing, though I tell him that if I hunted after praise, by the ostentation of wit and learning, I should not write thus out of

mine own season, when I have neither yet completed to my mind the full circle of my private studies; although I complain not of any insufficiency to the matter in hand; or were I ready to my wishes, it were a folly to commit any thing elaborately composed to the careless and interrupted listening of these tumultuous times. Next, if I were wise only to my own ends, I would certainly take such a subject as of itself might catch applause; *whenas* this hath all the disadvantages on the contrary, and such a subject as the publishing whereof might be delayed at pleasure, and time enough to pencil it over with all the curious touches of art, even to the perfection of a faultless picture; *whenas* in this argument, the not deferring is of great moment to the good speeding, that if solidity have leisure to do her office, art cannot have much. Lastly, I should not choose this manner of writing, wherein knowing myself inferior to myself, led by the genial power of nature to another task, I have the use, as I may account it, but of my left hand; and I shall be foolish in saying more to this purpose; yet since it will be such a folly as wisest men go about to commit, have only confessed and so committed, I may trust with more reason, because with more folly, to have courteous pardon. For although a poet, soaring in the high region of his fancies, with his garland and singing robes about him, might, without apology, speak

more of himself than I mean to do; yet for me sitting here below in the cool element of prose, a mortal thing among many readers, of no empyreal conceit, to venture and divulge unusual things of myself, I shall petition to the gentler sort it may not be envy to me. I must say, therefore, that after I had, from my first years, by the ceaseless diligence and care of my father, whom God recompence, been exercised to the tongues, and some sciences, as my age would suffer, by sundry masters and teachers, both at home and at the schools, it was found that whether aught was imposed me by them that had the overlooking, or betaken to of my own choice in English, or other tongue, prosing or versing, but chiefly the latter, the style, by certain vital signs it had, was likely to live. But much latelier, in the private academies of Italy, whither I was favoured to resort, perceiving that some trifles which I had in memory, composed at under twenty or thereabout, (for the manner is that every one must give some proof of his wit and reading there) met with acceptance above what was looked for; and other things which I had shifted in scarcity of books and conveniences, to patch up among them—were received with written encomiums, which the Italian is not forward to bestow on men of this side the Alps, I began thus far to assent both to them and divers of my friends here at home; and not less to an inward prompting,

which now grew daily upon me, that by labour and intent study, (which I take to be my portion in this life) joined to the strong propensity of nature, I might perhaps leave something so written, to after times, as they should not willingly let it die. These thoughts at once possessed me, and these other; that if I were certain to write as men buy leases, for three lives and downward, there ought no regard be sooner had than to God's glory, by the honour and instruction of my country. For which cause, and not only for that I knew it would be hard to arrive at the second rank among the Latins, I applied myself to that resolution which Ariosto followed against the persuasions of Bembo, to fix all the industry and art I could unite to the adorning of my native tongue; not to make verbal curiosities the end, that were a toilsome vanity; but to be an interpreter, and relater of the best and safest things among mine own citizens throughout this island, in the mother dialect. That what the greatest and choicest wits of Athens, Rome, or modern Italy, and those Hebrews of old did for their country, I, in my proportion, with this over and above, of being a christian, might do for mine; not caring to be once named abroad, though perhaps I could attain to that, but content with these British islands as my world, whose fortune hath hitherto been, that if the Athenians, as some say, made their small deeds great and renowned by their

eloquent writers, England hath had her noble achievements made small by the unskilful handling of monks and mechanics.

Time serves not now, and perhaps I might seem too profuse, to give any certain account of what the mind at home, in the spacious circuits of her musing, hath liberty to propose to herself, though of highest hope, and hardest attempting. Whether that epic form, whereof the two poems of Homer, and those other two of Virgil and Tasso are a diffuse, and the book of Job a brief model; or whether the rules of Aristotle herein are strictly to be kept, or nature to be followed, which in them that know art, and use judgment, is no transgression, but an enriching of art. And lastly, what king or knight before the conquest, might be chosen, in whom to lay the pattern of a christian hero. And as Tasso gave to a prince of Italy his choice, whether he would command him to write of Godfrey's expedition against the infidels, or Belisarius against the Goths, or Charlemagne against the Lombards; if to the instinct of nature and the emboldening of art aught may be trusted, and that there be nothing adverse in our climate, or the fate of this age, it haply would be no rashness, from an equal diligence and inclination, to present the like offer in our own ancient stories. Or whether those dramatic constitutions, wherein Sophocles and Euripides reign,

shall be found more doctrinal and exemplary to a nation. The Scripture also affords us a fine pastoral drama in the Song of Solomon, consisting of two persons, and a double chorus, as Origen rightly judges; and the Apocalypse of St. John is the majestic image of a high and stately tragedy, shutting up and intermingling her solemn scenes and acts with a seven-fold chorus of hallelujahs and harping symphonies. And this my opinion, the grave authority of Pareus, commenting that book, is sufficient to confirm. Or if occasion shall lead, to imitate those magnific odes and hymns, wherein Pindarus and Callimachus are in most things worthy, some others in their frame judicious, in their matter most, and end, faulty. But those frequent songs throughout the law and prophets, beyond all these, not in their divine argument alone, but in the very critical art of composition, may be easily made appear over all the kinds of lyric poesy, to be incomparable. These abilities, wheresoever they be found, are the inspired gift of God, rarely bestowed, but yet to some (though most abuse) in every nation: and are of power, besides the office of a pulpit, to inbreed and cherish in a great people the seeds of virtue and public civility; to allay the perturbations of the mind, and set the affections in right tune; to celebrate in glorious and lofty hymns the throne and equipage of God's almightiness, and what he suffers to be wrought with

high providence in his church; to sing victorious agonies of martyrs and saints, the deeds and triumphs of just and pious nations, doing valiantly through faith against the enemies of Christ; to deplore the general relapses of kingdoms and states from justice and God's true worship. Lastly, whatsoever in religion is holy and sublime, in virtue amiable or grave, whatsoever hath passion or admiration in all the changes of that which is called fortune from without, or the wily subtleties and refluxes of man's thoughts from within; all these things, with a solid and treatable smoothness, to paint out and describe. Teaching over the whole book of sanctity and virtue, through all the instances of example, with such delight to those, especially of soft and delicious temper, who will not so much as look upon truth herself, unless they see her elegantly dressed; that whereas the paths of honesty and good life appear now rugged and difficult, though they be indeed easy and pleasant, they would then appear to all men both easy and pleasant, though they were rugged and difficult indeed. And what a benefit would this be to our youth and gentry, may be soon guessed by what we know of the corruption and bane which they suck in daily from the writings and interludes of libidinous and ignorant poetasters, who having scarce ever heard of that which is the main consistence of a true poem, the choice of such persons as they ought to introduce, and what is moral and decent to

each one, do for the most part lay up vicious principles in sweet pills, to be swallowed down, and make the taste of virtuous documents harsh and sour. But because the spirit of man cannot demean itself lively in this body without some repeating intermission of labour, and serious things, it were happy for the commonwealth if our magistrates, as in those famous governments of old, would take into their care not only the deciding of our contentious law cases and brawls, but the managing of our public sports and festival pastimes, that they might be, not such as were authorised a while since, the provocations of drunkenness and lust, but such as may inure and harden our bodies, by martial exercises, to all warlike skill and performances; and may civilize, adorn, and make discreet our minds, by the learned and affable meeting of frequent academies, and the procurement of wise and artful recitations, sweetened with eloquent and graceful inticements, to the love and practice of justice, temperance, and fortitude; instructing and bettering the nation at all opportunities, that the call of wisdom and virtue may be heard every where, as Solomon saith; "She crieth without, she uttereth her voice in the streets, in the top of high places, in the chief concourse, and in the openings of the gates." Whether this may be not only in pulpits, but after another persuasive method, at set and solemn paneguries, in theatres, porches, or what other place or way may win most

upon the people, to receive at once both recreation and instruction; let them in authority consult. The thing which I had to say, and those intentions which have lived within me, ever since I could conceive myself any thing worth to my country, I return to crave excuse, that urgent reason hath plucked from me, by an abortive and fore-dated discovery. And the accomplishment of them lies not but in a power above man's to promise; but that none hath by more studious ways endeavoured, and with more unwearied spirit that none shall, that I dare almost aver of myself, as far as life and free leisure will extend; and that the land had once enfranchised herself from this impertinent yoke of prelacy, under whose inquisitorious and tyrannical duncery, no free and splendid wit can flourish. Neither do I think it shame to covenant with any knowing reader, that for some few years yet I may go on trust with him toward the payment of what I am now indebted, as being a work not to be raised from the heat of youth, or the vapours of wine; like that which flows at waste from the pen of some vulgar amorist, or the trencher-fury of a rhyming parasite; nor to be obtained by the invocation of dame Memory and her syren daughters; but by devout prayer to that eternal Spirit, who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and sends out his seraphim with the hallowed fire of his altar, to touch and purify the lips of whom he pleases. To this must be added industrious and select reading, steady observa-

tion, insight into all seemly arts and affairs; till which in some measure be compassed, at mine own peril and cost, I refuse not to sustain this expectation from as many as are not loth to hazard so much credulity upon the best pledges that I can give them. Although it nothing content me to have disclosed thus much beforehand, but that I trust hereby to make it manifest with what small willingness I endure to interrupt the pursuit of no less hopes than these, and leave a calm and pleasing solitariness, fed with chearful and confident thoughts, to embark in a troubled sea of noises and hoarse disputes—from beholding the bright countenance of truth in the quiet and still air of delightful studies, to come into the dim reflection of hollow antiquities sold by the seeming bulk, and there be fain to club quotations with men whose learning and belief lies in marginal stuffings; who when they have, like good sumpters, laid you down their horse-load of citations and fathers at your door, with a rhapsody of who and who were bishops here or there, you may take off their pack-saddles, their day's work is done, and episcopacy, as they think, stoutly vindicated. Let any gentle apprehension that can distinguish learned pains from unlearned drudgery, imagine what pleasure or profoundness can be in this, or what honour to deal against such adversaries. But were it the meanest under-service, if God, by his secretary, conscience,

enjoin it, it were sad for me if I should draw back; for me especially now, when all men offer their aid to help, ease, and lighten the difficult labours of the church; to whose service, by the intentions of my parents and friends, I was destined of a child, and in mine own resolutions, till coming to some maturity of years, and perceiving what tyranny had invaded the church, that he who would take orders must subscribe slave, and take an oath withal; which unless he took with a conscience that would retch, he must either strait perjure, or split his faith; I thought it better to prefer a blameless silence, before the sacred office of speaking, bought and begun with servitude and forswearing. Howsoever, thus church-outed by the prelates, hence may appear the right I have to meddle in these matters; as before the necessity and constraint appeared.

The passage in which he vindicates his own chastity, is singularly beautiful, and presents a very pleasing picture of his early studies, and of the unsophisticated delicacy of his mind.

Because as well by this upbraiding to me the Bordelloes, as by other suspicious glancings in his book, he would seem privily to point me out to his readers,

as one whose custom of life were not honest, but licentious; I shall intreat to be borne with, though I digress; and, in a way not often trod, acquaint you with the sum of my thoughts in this matter, through the course of my years and studies. Although I am not ignorant how hazardous it will be to do this under the nose of the envious, as it were in skirmish, to change the compact order, and, instead of outward actions, to bring inmost thoughts into front. And I must tell you, readers, that by this sort of men I have been already bitten at; yet shall they not for me know how slightly they are esteemed, unless they have so much learning as to read what in Greek ἀκυροκαλία is, which, together with envy, is the common disease of those who censure books that are not for their reading. With me it fares now, as with him whose outward garment hath been injured and ill-bedighted; for having no other shift, what help but to turn the inside outward, especially if the lining be of the same, or, as it is sometimes, much better. So if my name and outward demeanor be not evident enough to defend me, I must make trial if the discovery of my inmost thoughts can: wherein of two purposes, both honest, and both sincere, the one perhaps I shall not miss; although I fail to gain belief with others, of being such as my perpetual thoughts shall here disclose me, I may yet not fail of success in persuading some to be such really them-

selves, as they cannot believe me to be more than what I fain. I had my time, readers, as others have, who have good learning bestowed upon them, to be sent to those places, where the opinion was, it might be soonest attained; and, as the manner is, was not unstudied in those authors which are most commended; whereof some were grave orators and historians, whose matter methought I loved indeed, but as my age then was, so I understood them; others were the smooth elegiac poets, whereof the schools are not scarce, whom both for the pleasing sound of their numerous writing, which in imitation I found most easy and most agreeable to nature's part in me, and for their matter, which what it is, there be few who know not, I was so allured to read, that no recreation came to me better welcome: for that it was then those years with me which are excused, though they be least severe, I may be saved the labour to remember you. Whence having observed them to count it the chief glory of their wit, in that they were ablest to judge, to praise, and by that could esteem themselves worthiest to love those high perfections, which, under one or other name, they took to celebrate; I thought with myself, by every instinct and presage of nature, which is not wont to be false, that what emboldened them to this task, might, with such diligence as they used, embolden me; and that what judgment, wit, or elegance, was

my share, would herein best appear, and best value itself, by how much more wisely, and with more love of virtue I should choose (let rude ears be absent) the object of not unlike praises: for albeit these thoughts to some will seem virtuous and commendable, to others only pardonable, to a third sort perhaps idle, yet the mentioning of them now will end in serious. Nor blame it, readers, in those years to propose to themselves such a reward as the noblest dispositions above other things in this life have sometimes preferred: whereof not to be sensible, when good and fair in one person meet, argues both a gross and shallow judgment, and withal an ungentle, and swainish breast. For by the firm settling of these persuasions, I became to my best memory, so much a proficient, that if I found those authors any where speaking unworthy things of themselves, or unchaste of those names which before they had extolled; this effect it wrought with me, from that time forward their art I still applauded, but the men I deplored; and above them all preferred the two famous renowners of Beatrice and Laura, [Petrarca and Dante] who never write but honour of them to whom they devote their verse, displaying sublime and pure thoughts, without transgression. And long it was not after, when I was confirmed in this opinion, that he who would not be frustrate of his hope to write well hereafter in laudable things, ought himself to be

a true poem; that is, a composition and pattern of the best and honourablest things; not presuming to sing high praises of heroic men, or famous cities, unless he have in himself the experience and the practice of all that which is praiseworthy. These reasonings, together with a certain niceness of nature, an honest haughtiness, and self-esteem even of what I was, or what I might be, (which let envy call pride) and lastly, that modesty, whereof, though not in the title-page, yet here I may be excused to make some beseeming profession; all these uniting the supply of their natural aid together, kept me still above those low descents of mind, beneath which he must deject and plunge himself, that can agree to saleable and unlawful prostitutions. Next, (for hear me out now, readers,) that I may tell you whither my younger feet wandered; I betook me among those lofty fables and romances, which recount, in solemn cantos, the deeds of knighthood, founded by our victorious kings, and from hence had in renown over all christendom: there I read it in the oath of every knight, that he should defend to the expence of his best blood, or of his life, if it so befel him, the honour and chastity of virgin or matron: from whence even then I learnt what a noble virtue chastity sure must be, to the defence of which so many worthies, by such a dear adventure of themselves, had sworn; and if I found in the story afterward, any of them by word or deed breaking that oath, I judged it the

same fault of the poet, as that which is attributed to Homer—to have written indecent things of the gods; only this my mind gave me, that every free and gentle spirit, without that oath, ought to be born a knight, nor needed to expect the gilt spur, or the laying of a sword upon his shoulder, to stir him up both by his counsel and his arm, to secure and protect the weakness of any attempted chastity. So that even those books, which to many others have been the fuel of wantonness and loose living, I cannot think how, unless by divine indulgence, proved to me so many incitements, as you have heard, to the love and stedfast observation of that virtue which abhors the society of Bordellos. Thus from the laureat fraternity of poets, riper years, and the ceaseless round of study and reading, led me to the shady spaces of philosophy; but chiefly to the divine volumes of Plato, and his equal Xenophon; where, if I should tell you what I learnt of chastity and love, I mean that which is truly so, whose charming cup is only virtue, which she bears in her hand to those who are worthy; the rest are cheated with a thick intoxicating potion, which a certain sorceress, the abuser of love's name, carries about; and how the first and chiefest office of love begins and ends in the soul, producing those happy twins of her divine generation, knowledge and virtue; with such abstracted sublimities as these, it might be worth your listening, readers, as I may one day hope to have you in a

still time, when there shall be no chiding; not in these noises, the adversary, as you know, barking at the door, or searching for me at the Bordellos, where it may be he has lost himself; and raps up without pity the sage and rheumatic old *prelatess*, with all her young *Corinthian laity*, to inquire for such a one. Last of all, not in time, but as perfection is last, that care was ever had of me, with my earliest capacity, not to be negligently trained in the precepts of christian religion. This that I have hitherto related, hath been to shew, that though christianity had been but slightly taught me, yet a certain reservedness of natural disposition, and moral discipline, learnt out of the noblest philosophy, was enough to keep me in disdain of far less incontinencies than this of the Bordello. But having had the doctrine of holy Scripture, unfolding those chaste and high mysteries, with timeliest care infused, that "the body is for the Lord and the Lord for the body;" thus also I argued to myself, that if unchastity in a woman, whom St. Paul terms the glory of man, be such a scandal and dishonour, then certainly in a man, who is both the image and glory of God, it must, though commonly not so thought, be much more deflouring and dishonourable; in that he sins both against his own body, which is the perfecter sex, and his own glory, which is in the woman; and that which is worst, against the image and glory of God, which is in himself. Nor did I slumber over that place, expres-

ing such high rewards of ever accompanying the Lamb, to those celestial songs to others inapprehensible, but not to those who were not defiled with women, which doubtless means fornication; for marriage must not be called a defilement. Thus large I have purposely been, that if I have been justly taxed with this crime, it may come upon me, after all this my confession, with a tenfold shame: but if I have hitherto deserved no such opprobrious word or suspicion, I may hereby engage myself now openly to the faithful observation of what I have professed.

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4. Animadversions upon the Remonstrant's Defence against *Smectymnuus*.

5. An Apology for *Smectymnuus*.

6. Of Education; to Master Samuel Hastlib.

7. *Areopagitica;* a Speech for the Liberty of unlicensed Printing, to the Parliament of England.

8. The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce restored, to the good of both Sexes, from the Bondage of Canon Law, and other mistakes, to the true meaning of Scripture in the Law and Gospel compared, &c.

9. *Tetrachordon;* Expositions upon the four chief Places in Scripture which treat of Marriage, or Nullities in Marriage, &c.

10. The Judgment of Martin Bucer, concerning Divorce, written to Edward the Sixth, in his second Book of the Kingdom of Christ, &c.

11. *Colasterion*; a Reply to a nameless Answer against the Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce; wherein the trivial Author of that Answer is discovered, the Licenser conferred with, and the Opinion which they traduce defended.

12. The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates; proving that it is lawful, and hath been held so through all Ages, for any who have the power, to call to account a Tyrant or wicked King, and, after due Conviction, to depose and put him to death, if the ordinary Magistrate have neglected, or denied to do it, &c.

13. Observations on the Articles of Peace between James Earl of Ormond, for King Charles the First, on the one hand, and the Irish Rebels and Papists on the other hand: and on a Letter sent by Ormond to Colonel Jones, Governor of Dublin; and a Representation of the Scots Presbytery at Belfast in Ireland. To which the said Articles, Letter, with Colonel Jones's Answer to it, and Representation, &c. are prefixed.

14. *Eikonoclastes;* in answer to a Book intitled

Eikon Basilike; the Portraiture of his Sacred Majesty in his Solitude and his Sufferings.

The *Eikonoclastes* was written in answer to a tract entitled *Eikon Basilike*, containing a defence of the king, and supposed to be written by Charles himself. The passages I shall extract from this piece may be thought objectionable from the boldness of the sentiments; but as most people have pretty well made up their minds about the martyrdom of Charles I. the influence of any sentiments on the subject at present, would be insignificant. The passages, too, will serve to shew at once Milton's manner in controversy, and the ebullient state of feeling which prevailed at the period.

Chap. 5.

Upon the Bill for Triennial Parliaments, and for settling this, &c.

The bill for triennial parliaments was doubtless a good bill, and the other for settling this was at that time very expedient; and, in the king's own words, no more than what the world "was fully confirmed he might, in justice, reason, honour, and conscience, 'grant them;" for to that end he affirms to have done it.

But whereas he attributes the passing of them to

his own act of grace and willingness, as his manner is, to make virtues of his necessities, and giving to himself all the praise, heaps ingratitude upon the parliament, a little memory will set the clean contrary before us—that for those beneficial acts we owe what we owe to the parliament, but to his granting them, neither praise nor thanks. The first bill granted much less than two former statutes yet in force by Edward the Third—that a parliament should be called every year, or oftener, if need were: nay, from a far ancienter law-book, called the *Mirror*, it is affirmed, in a late treatise called *Rights of the Kingdom*, that parliaments, by our old laws, ought twice a year to be at London. The second was so necessary, that nothing in the power of man more seemed to be the stay and support of all things from that steep ruin to which he had nigh brought them, than that act obtained. He had by his ill stewardship, and to say no worse, the needless raising of two armies, intended for a civil war, beggared both himself and the public; and besides had left us upon the score of his needy enemies for what it cost them in their own defence against him. To disengage him and the kingdom, great sums were to be borrowed, which would never have been lent, nor could ever be paid, had the king chanced to dissolve this parliament as heretofore. The errors also of his government had brought the kingdom to such extremes as were in-

capable of all recovery, without the absolute continuance of this parliament. It had been else in vain to go about the settling of so great distempers, if he, who first caused the malady, might, when he pleased, reject the remedy. Notwithstanding all which, that he granted both these acts unwillingly, and, as a mere passive instrument, was then visible even to most of those men who now will see nothing.

At passing of the former act he himself concealed not his unwillingness; and testifying a great dislike of their actions, which they then proceeded in with great approbation of the whole kingdom, he told them with a masterly brow, that "by this act he had obliged them above what they had deserved," and gave a piece of justice to the commonwealth three times short of his predecessors, as if he had been giving some boon, or begged office, to a sort of his desertless grooms.

That he passed the latter act against his will, no man in reason can hold it questionable: for if the February before he made so dainty, and were so loth to bestow a parliament once in three years upon the nation, because this had so opposed his courses, was it likely that, the May following, he should bestow willingly on this parliament an indissoluble sitting, when they had offended him much more by cutting short and impeaching of high treason his chief favourites? It was his fear, then, not his favour, which

drew from him that act, lest the parliament, incensed by his conspiracies against them, about the same time discovered, should with the people have resented too heinously those his doings, if to the suspicion of their danger from him, he had also added the denial of this only means to secure themselves.

* * * * The bill preventing dissolution of this parliament, he calls "an unparalleled act, out of the extreme confidence that his subjects would not make ill use of it." But was it not a greater confidence of the people to put into one man's hand so great a power, till he abused it, as to summon and dissolve parliaments? He would be thanked for trusting them, and ought to thank them rather for trusting him: the trust issuing first from them, not from him.

And that it was a mere trust, and not his prerogative, to call and dissolve parliaments at his pleasure; and that parliaments were not to be dissolved, till all petitions were heard, all grievances redressed, is not only the assertion of this parliament, but of our ancient law-books, which aver it to be an unwritten law of common right, so engraven in the hearts of our ancestors, and by them so constantly enjoyed and claimed, as that it needed not enrolling. And if the Scots in their declaration could charge the king with breach of their laws, for breaking up that parliament without their consent, while matters of greatest mo-

ment were depending; it were unreasonable to imagine, that the wisdom of England should be so wanting to itself, through all ages, as not to provide by some known law, written or unwritten, against the not calling, or the arbitrary dissolving of parliaments; or that they who ordained their summoning twice a year, or as oft as need required, did not tacitly enact also, that as necessity of affairs called them, so the same necessity should keep them undissolved till that were fully satisfied. Were it not for that, parliaments, and all the fruit and benefit we receive by having them, would turn soon to mere abusion. It appears, then, that if this bill of not dissolving were an unparalleled act, it was a known and common right, which our ancestors under other kings enjoyed as firmly as if it had been engraven in marble; and that the infringement of this king first brought it into a written act: who now boasts that as a great favour done us, which his own less fidelity than was in former kings, constrained us only of an old undoubted right, to make a new written act. But what needed written acts, whenas anciently it was esteemed part of his crown-oath not to dissolve parliaments till all grievances were considered. Whereupon the old *modi* of parliament calls it flat perjury, if he dissolve them before; as I find cited in a book mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, to which and other law-tractats, I refer the more lawyerly

mooting of this, which is neither my element, nor my proper work here; since the book which I have to answer, pretends to reason, not to authorities and quotations; and I hold reason to be the best arbitrator, and the law of law itself.

From Chap. 6.

Upon the King's Retirement from Westminster.

Putting off the courtier, he now puts on the philosopher, and sententiously disputes to this effect: "that reason ought to be used to men, force and terror to beasts; that he deserves to be a slave who captivates the rational sovereignty of his soul, and liberty of his will to compulsion; that he would not forfeit that freedom, which cannot be denied him as a king, because it belongs to him as a man and a christian, though to preserve his kingdom; but rather die enjoying the empire of his soul, than live in such a vassalage, as not to use his reason and conscience to like or dislike as a king."—Which words of themselves, as far as they are sense, good and philosophical, yet in the mouth of him who to engross this common liberty to himself, would tread down all other men into the condition of slaves and beasts, they quite lose their commendation. He

confesses a rational sovereignty of soul, and freedom of will in every man, and yet with an implicit repugnancy would have his reason the sovereign of that sovereignty, and would captivate and make useless that natural freedom of will in all other men but himself. But them that yield him this obedience he so well rewards, as to pronounce them worthy to be slaves. They who have lost all to be his subjects, may stoop and take up the reward. What that freedom is, which "cannot be denied him as a king, because it belongs to him as a man and a christian," I understand not. If it be his negative voice, it concludes all men who have not such a negative as his against a whole parliament, to be neither men nor christians: and what was he himself then all this while, that we denied it him as a king? Will he say that he enjoyed within himself the less freedom for that? Might not he, both as a man and as a christian, have reigned within himself in full sovereignty of soul, no man repining, but that his outward and imperious will must invade the civil liberties of a nation? Did we therefore not permit him to use his reason or his conscience, not permitting him to bereave us the use of ours? And might not he have enjoyed both as a king, governing us as freemen by what laws we ourselves would be governed? It was not the inward use of his reason and his conscience that would content him, but to use them both as a

law over all his subjects, " in whatever he declared as a king to like or dislike." Which use of reason, most reasonless and unconscionable, is the utmost that any tyrant ever pretended over his vassals.

In all wise nations, the legislative power, and the judicial execution of that power, have been most commonly distinct, and in several hands; but yet the former supreme, the other subordinate. If then the king be only set up to execute the law, which is indeed the highest of his office, he ought no more to make or forbid the making of any law, agreed upon in parliament, than other inferior judges, who are his deputies. Neither can he more reject a law offered him by the commons, than he can new-make a law which they reject. And yet the more to credit and uphold his cause, he would seem to have philosophy on his side, straining her wise dictates to unphilosophical purposes. But when kings come so low as to fawn upon philosophy, which before they neither valued nor understood, it is a sign that fails not, they are then put to their last trump. And philosophy as well requites them, by not suffering her golden sayings either to become their lips, or to be used as masks and colours of injurious and violent deeds. So that what they presume to borrow from her sage and virtuous rules, like the riddle of Sphinx not understood, breaks the neck of their own cause.

But now again to politics: " He cannot think the

majesty and crown of England to be bound by any coronation oath in a blind and brutish formality, to consent to whatever its subjects in parliament shall require." What tyrant could presume to say more, when he meant to kick down all law, government, and bond of oath? But why he so desires to absolve himself the oath of his coronation, would be worth the knowing. It cannot but be yielded, that the oath which binds him to performance of his trust, ought in reason to contain the sum of what his chief trust and office is. But if it neither do enjoin nor mention to him, as a part of his duty, the making or the marring of any law, or scrap of law, but requires only his assent to those laws which the people have already chosen, or shall choose, (for so both the Latin of that oath, and the old English, and all reason admits, that the people should not lose, under a new king, what freedom they had before) then that negative voice so contended for, to deny the passing of any law which the commons chose, is both against the oath of his coronation, and his kingly office. And if the king may deny to pass what the parliament hath chosen to be a law, then doth the king make himself superior to his whole kingdom; which not only the general maxims of policy gainsay, but even our own standing laws, as hath been cited to him in remonstrances heretofore, that " the king hath two superiors, the law, and

his court of parliament." But this he counts to be a blind and brutish formality, whether it be law, or oath, or his duty, and thinks to turn it off with wholesome words and phrases, which he then first learnt of the honest people, when they were so often compelled to use them against those more truly blind and brutish formalities thrust upon us by his own command.

As for his instance, in case "He and the house of peers attempted to enjoin the house of commons," it bears no equality: for he and the peers represent but themselves; the commons are the whole kingdom.

Thus he concludes "his oath to be fully discharged in governing by laws already made," as being not bound to pass any new, "if his reason bids him deny;" and so may infinite mischiefs grow, and a whole nation be ruined, while our general good and safety shall depend upon the private and overweening reason of one obstinate man, who, against all the kingdom, if he list, will interpret both the law and his oath of coronation by the tenor of his own will, which he himself confesses to be an arbitrary power, yet doubts not in his argument to imply; as if he thought it more fit the parliament should be subject to his will, than he to their advice; a man neither by nature nor by nurture wise. How is it possible, that he in whom such principles as these

were so deep-rooted, could ever, though restored again, have reigned otherwise than tyrannically.

Of the *Eikon Basilike*, Milton says, that it had the same effect upon the affections of the English, as the famous will of Julius Cæsar had on those of the Roman people. It is said to have passed through fifty editions, at home and abroad, in one year. It has been attributed to bishop Gander; probably without reason. From the defence of it by Wagstaffe, one would be induced to infer, that the king himself was the author. There are many occasional pieces of Charles in the collection of his works in folio.

Though the extracts already given from Milton may be deemed sufficient for the purpose I have in view, I shall venture to select one more. Milton was accused of expressing himself too bitterly in controversy. He excuses himself from the example of the apostles, and of Christ himself, from his natural temperament, and from the interests of truth, which demand the high tone of enthusiasm and zeal. The passage is taken from his Apology for

Smectymnuus; and might have been inserted under that article; but it will come better here, as a sort of emollient to the preceding.

If the question were in oratory, whether a vehement vein throwing out indignation or scorn upon an object that merits it, were among the aptest ideas of speech to be allowed, it were my work, and that an easy one, to make it clear both by the rules of best rhetoricians, and the famousest examples of the Greek and Roman orations. But since the religion of it is disputed, and not the art, I shall make use only of such reasons and authorities as religion cannot except against. It will be harder to gainsay, than for me to evince, that in the teaching of men diversly tempered, different ways are to be tried. The baptist, we know, was a strict man, remarkable for austerity and set order of life. Our Saviour, who had all gifts in him, was Lord to express his indoctrinating power in what sort him best seemed; sometimes by a mild and familiar converse, sometimes with plain and impartial home-speaking, regardless of those whom the auditors might think he should have had in more respect; otherwhiles with bitter and ireful rebukes, if not teaching, yet leaving excuseless those his wilful impugners. What was all in him, was divided among many others, the teachers of his church; some to be severe, and even of a sad gra-

vity, that they may win such, and check sometimes those who be of nature over confident and jocond; others were sent more cheerful, free, and still as it were at large, in the midst of an untrespassing honesty: that they who are so tempered may have by whom they might be drawn to salvation, and they who are too scrupulous and dejected of spirit, might be often strengthened with wise consolations and revivings: no man being forced wholly to dissolve that ground-work of nature which God created in him; the sanguine to empty out all his sociable liveliness, the choleric to expel quite the unsinning predominance of his anger; but that each radical humour and passion, wrought upon and corrected as it ought, might be made the proper mould and foundation of every man's peculiar gifts and virtues. Some also were induedwith a staid moderation and soundness of argument, to teach and convince the rational and sober-minded; yet not therefore that to be thought the only expedient course of teaching; for in times of opposition, when either against new heresies arising, or old corruptions to be reformed, this cool unpassionate mildness of positive wisdom, is not enough to damp and astonish the proud resistance of carnal and false doctors, then (that I may have leave to soar awhile as the poets use) zeal, whose substance is ethereal, arming in complete diamond, ascends his fiery chariot, drawn with two blazing me-

teors, figured like beasts, but of a higher breed than any the zodiac yields, resembling two of those four which Ezekiel and St. John saw—the one visaged like a lion, to express power, high authority, and indignation; the other of countenance like a man, to cast derision and scorn upon perverse and fraudulent seducers. With these the invincible warrior, Zeal, shaking loosely the slack reins, drives over the heads of scarlet prelates, and such as are insolent to maintain traditions, bruising their stiff necks under his flaming wheels. Thus did the true prophets of old combat with the false; thus Christ himself, the fountain of meekness, found acrimony enough to be still galling and vexing the prelatical pharisees. But ye will say, these had immediate warrant from God to be thus bitter; and I say, so much the plainlier is it proved, that there may be a sanctified bitterness against the enemies of truth.

15. A Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes; shewing that it is not lawful for any Power on earth to compel in matters of Religion.

16. Considerations touching the likeliest

means to removing Hirelings out of the Church &c.

17. The present Means and brief Delineation of a free Commonwealth; easy to be put in practice, and without delay; in a Letter to General Monk. Published from the Manuscript.

18. The ready and easy Way to establish a free Commonwealth, and the Excellencies thereof compared with the Inconveniencies and Dangers of re-admitting Kings in this Nation.

19. Brief Notes upon a late Sermon, intitled, The Fear of God and the King, preached and since published by Mathew Griffith, D. D. and Chaplain to the late King, wherein many notorious Wrestlings of Scripture, and other Falsities, are observed.

20. Accedence commenced Grammar; supplied with sufficient Rules for the Use of such as, younger or elder, are desirous, without more Trouble than needs, to attain the Latin Tongue; the elder sort especially with little teaching, and their own Industry.

21. The History of Britain, that Part especially now called England; from the first traditional Beginning, continued to the Norman Conquest. Collected out of the ancientest

and best Authors thereof. Published from a Copy corrected by the Author himself.

22. Of true Religion, Heresy, Schism, Toleration; and what best means may be used against the Growth of Popery. Printed in the year 1693.

23. A brief History of Moscovia, and other less known Countries lying eastward of Russia, as far as Cathay. Gathered from the Writings of several Eye-witnesses.

24. A Declaration; or Letters Patent for the Election of John the Third, King of Poland; elected of the 22d of May, *Anno Domini*, 1674. Containing the Reasons of this Election; the great Virtues and Merits of the said Serene Elect; his eminent Services in War, especially in his last great Victory against the Turks and Tartars; whereof many Particulars are here related, not published before.

25. *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano, contra Claudii Anonymi, alias Salmasii Defensionem Regiam.*

26. *Defensio Secunda pro Populo Anglicano contra infamem Libellum anonymum, cui Titulus Regii Sanguinis clamor ad Cœlum, adversus Parricidas Anglicanos.*

27. *Autoris pro se Defensio contra Alexandrum Morum Ecclesiasten, Libelli famosi, cui Titulus, Regii Sanguinis clamor ad Cœlum, adversus Parricidas Anglicanos, Authorem recte dictum.*

28. *Literæ Senatûs Anglicani nomine ac jussu conscriptæ. Literæ Oliverii Protectoris nomine Scriptæ.*

29. *Literæ Richardi Protectoris, nomine Scriptæ.*

30. *Literæ Parlamenti Restituti, nomine Scriptæ.*

31. *Artis Logicæ plenior Institutio ad Petri Rami Methodum concinnata, adjecta est Praxis Analytica et Petri Rami Vita, Libris duobus.*

32. *Autoris Epistolarum Familiarum Liber unus. Quibus accesserunt ejusdem jam olim in Collegio Adolescentis Prolusiones quædam Oratoriæ.*

33. *Scriptum Dom. Protectoris Reipublicæ Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ, &c. ex consensu atque sententiâ Concilii sui Editum. In quo hujus Reipublicæ Causa contra Hispanos justa esse demonstratur.*]

The prose works of Milton, complete,

were published last year, 1806, in seven vols, 8vo. by Charles Symmons, D. D. of Jesus College, Oxford; with a life of the author, and interspersed with translations and critical remarks.

If we consider the greatness of the author, his prose works have probably been very little read. This has arisen no doubt in part from the temporary interest of many of the subjects he treats, and partly from his enmity against the established clergy of his time. The high republican spirit which pervades them might also have had some influence in checking their extensive popularity. In consequence of his intimate acquaintance with our early writers, particularly the writers of Romance, his style is often more antiquated than that of any of his cotemporaries. It were superfluous to remark upon the character of writings from a man so illustrious as Milton. They breathe throughout that sublime, etherial spirit, peculiar only to him. We are continually astonished and delighted at his never-failing abundance of sentiments and imagery—at that majestic stream and swell of thoughts, with which his mind

always flows. He was a man essentially great; and whoever wishes to form his language to a lofty and noble style—his character to a fervid sincerity of soul, will read the works of Milton.

HYDE (EDWARD.)

EARL of Clarendon and lord high chancellor of England, descended from an ancient family in Cheshire, was born at Dinton near Hindon, in Wiltshire, in 1608. He entered at Magdalene Hall, Oxford, in 1622, being only fourteen years old, and proceeded bachelor of arts in 1625; soon after which, he removed to the Middle Temple, and was subsequently called to the bar.

In the short parliament held at Westminster, April 10, 1640, he was elected member for Wotton-Basset in Wiltshire; and in the long parliament was member for Saltash in Cornwall. In 1642, he was made chancellor of the exchequer, and at the same time knighted, and sworn of the privy council. In these offices, he was continued by Charles II. He became lord high chancellor in 1657.

After the restoration, 1660, he was chosen chancellor of the university of Oxford. The same year he was created a peer, by the title of Baron Hyde of Hindon in Wiltshire; to which were added, the following year, the titles of viscount Cornbury in Oxfordshire, and earl of Clarendon in Wiltshire. Eventually, however, the favour of his majesty was withdrawn; and in 1667, he was deprived of the great seal, impeached of high-treason, and banished the kingdom. He died at Rouen in 1674.

1. The principal literary work of lord Clarendon, is his "History of the Rebellion;" which was begun in 1646, in the island of Jersey, whither he had retired on the declining of the king's affairs. It was finished at Moulins in 1672-3, while the author was in banishment. The last edition is in six volumes, 8vo.

A distinguishing excellence of lord Clarendon consists in his lively and accurate delineations of character. My selections, therefore, shall consist entirely of such instances.

Character of Hampden.

Mr. Hampden was a man of much greater cunning, and it may be, of the most discerning spirit, and of the greatest address and insinuation to bring any thing to pass which he desired, of any man of that time, and who laid the design deepest. He was a gentleman of a good extraction, and a fair fortune; who, from a life of great pleasure and licence, had on a sudden retired to extraordinary sobriety and strictness, and yet retained his usual cheerfulness and affability; which, together with the opinion of his wisdom and justice, and the courage he had shewed in opposing the ship-money, raised his reputation to a very great height, not only in Buckinghamshire, where he lived, but generally throughout the kingdom. He was not a man of many words, and rarely begun the discourse, or made the first entrance upon any business that was assumed; but a very weighty speaker, and after he had heard a full debate, and observed how the house was like to be inclined, took up the argument, and shortly, and clearly, and craftily so stated it, that he commonly conducted it to the conclusion he desired; and if he found he could not do that, he was never without the dexterity to divert the debate to another time, and to prevent the determining any thing in the negative, which might prove inconvenient in

the future. He made so great a shew of civility, and modesty, and humility, and always of mistrusting his own judgment, and esteeming his with whom he conferred for the present, that he seemed to have no opinions or resolutions, but such as he contracted from the information and instruction he received upon the discourses of others: whom he had a wonderful art of governing, and leading into his principles and inclinations, whilst they believed that he wholly depended upon their counsel and advice. No man had ever a greater power over himself, or was less the man that he seemed to be: which shortly after appeared to every body, when he cared less to keep on the masque.

And again:

He was a gentleman of a good family in Buckinghamshire, and born to a fair fortune, and of a most civil and affable deportment. In his entrance into the world, he indulged to himself all the license in sports and exercises, and company, which were used by men of the most jolly conversation. Afterwards he retired to a more reserved and melancholy society, yet preserving his own natural chearfulness and vivacity, and above all, a flowing courtesy to all men; though they who conversed nearly with him, found him growing into a dislike of the eccle-

siastical government of the church, yet most believed it rather a dislike of some churchmen, and of some introducements of theirs, which he apprehended might disquiet the public peace. He was rather of reputation in his own country, than of public discourse, or fame in the kingdom, before the business of ship-money; but then he grew the argument of all tongues, every man enquiring who and what he was, that durst, at his own charge, support the liberty and property of the kingdom, and rescue his country, as he thought, from being made a prey to the court. His carriage, throughout this agitation, was with that rare temper and modesty, that they who watched him narrowly to find some advantage against his person, to make him less resolute in his cause, were compelled to give him a just testimony. And the judgment that was given against him, infinitely more advanced him, than the service for which it was given. When this parliament begun, (being returned knight of the shire for the county where he lived) the eyes of all men were fixed upon him, as their *patriæ pater*, and the pilot that must steer the vessel through the tempests and rocks which threatened it. And I am persuaded, his power and interest, at that time, was greater to do good or hurt, than any man's in the kingdom, or than any man of his rank hath had in any time; for his reputation of honesty was

universal, and his affections seemed so publicly guided, that no corrupt or private ends could bias them.

He was of that rare affability and temper in debate, and of that seeming humility and submission of judgment, as if he brought no opinion of his own with him, but a desire of information and instruction; yet he had so subtle a way of interrogating, and under the notion of doubts, insinuating his objections, that he infused his own opinions into those from whom he pretended to learn and receive them. And even with them who were able to preserve themselves from his infusions, and discerned those opinions to be fixed in him, with which they could not comply, he always left the character of an ingenious and conscientious person. He was, indeed, a very wise man, and of great parts, and possessed with the most absolute spirit of popularity, and the most absolute faculties to govern the people, of any man I ever knew. For the first year of the parliament, he seemed rather to moderate and soften the violent and distempered humours, than to inflame them. But wise and dispassioned men plainly discerned, that that moderation proceeded from prudence and observation that the season was not ripe, rather than that he approved of the moderation; and that he begot many opinions and motions, the education whereof he committed

to other men; so far disguising his own designs, that he seemed seldom to wish more than was concluded: and in many gross conclusions, which would hereafter contribute to designs not yet set on foot, when he found them sufficiently backed by majority of voices, he would withdraw himself before the question, that he might seem not to consent to so much visible unreasonableness; which produced as great a doubt in some, as it did approbation in others, of his integrity. What combination soever had been originally with the Scots for the invasion of England, and what farther was entered into afterward in favour of them, and to advance any alteration of the government in parliament, no man doubts was at least with the privity of this gentleman.

After he was among those members accused by the king of high treason, he was much altered; his nature and carriage seeming much fiercer than it did before. And without question, when he first drew his sword, he threw away the scabbard; for he passionately opposed the overture made by the king for a treaty from Nottingham, and as eminently, all expedients that might have produced any accommodations in this that was at Oxford; and was principally relied on, to prevent any infusions which might be made into the earl of Essex towards peace, or to render them ineffectual, if they

were made; and was, indeed, much more relied on by that party, than the general himself. In the first entrance into the troubles, he undertook the command of a regiment of foot, and performed the duty of a colonel, upon all occasions, most punctually. He was very temperate in diet, and a supreme governor over all his passions and affections, and had thereby a great power over other men's. He was of an industry and vigilance not to be tired out, or wearied by the most laborious; and of parts not to be imposed upon by the subtle or sharp; and of a personal courage equal to his best parts: so that he was an enemy not to be wished, wherever he might have been made a friend; and as much to be apprehended where he was so, as any man could deserve to be. And therefore his death was no less pleasing to the one party, than it was condoled in the other. In a word, what was said of Cinna, might well be applied to him: "He had a head to contrive, and a tongue to persuade, and a hand to execute any mischief;" [or as the historian says elsewhere,] "any good."

It must be remembered, that this character of our heroic and venerated champion of free-

dom, was given by one, whom difference of party rendered an enemy to him. Yet even here his unrivalled superiority is unquestioned. A doubt is only cast upon the purity of his motives; though it is at the same time admitted, that no selfish ends could be discerned. On any supposition, he must unquestionably have been one of the most extraordinary men that ever lived. It will be recollected, that he was mortally wounded in a skirmish with prince Rupert, at Chalgrove-field in Oxfordshire. He was shot in the shoulder with two musket-balls, on the 18th of June 1643, and died on the 24th in great agony—and as Clarendon says, to as great a consternation of all his party, as if their whole army had been defeated.

Character of Lord Falkland, who was slain in the battle of Newbury, between the parliament forces under the earl of Essex, and the royalists commanded by prince Rupert.

In this unhappy battle was slain the lord viscount Falkland; a person of such prodigious parts of learning and knowledge, of that inimitable sweetness and delight in conversation, of so flowing and

obliging a humanity and goodness to mankind, and of that primitive simplicity and integrity of life, that if there were no other brand upon this odious and accursed civil war, than that single loss, it must be most infamous and execrable to all posterity.

Turpe mori, post te, solo non posse dolore.

Before this parliament, his condition of life was so happy, that it was hardly capable of improvement. Before he came to be twenty years of age, he was master of a noble fortune, which descended to him by the gift of a grand-father, without passing through his father or mother, who were then both alive, and not well enough contented to find themselves passed by in the descent. His education for some years had been in Ireland, where his father was lord deputy; so that, when he returned into England to the possession of his fortune, he was unentangled with any acquaintance or friends, which usually grow up by the custom of conversation; and therefore was to make a pure election of his company; which he chose by other rules than were prescribed to the young nobility of that time. And it cannot be denied, though he admitted some few to his friendship for the agreeableness of their natures, and their undoubted affection to him, that his familiarity and friendship for the most part was

with men of the most eminent and sublime parts, and of untouched reputation in point of integrity; and such men had a title to his bosom.

He was a great cherisher of wit, and fancy, and good parts, in any man; and if he found them clouded with poverty or want, a most liberal and bountiful patron towards them, even above his fortune; of which, in those administrations, he was such a dispenser, as, if he had been trusted with it to such uses, and if there had been the least of vice in his expence, he might have been thought too prodigal. He was constant and pertinacious in whatsoever he resolved to do, and not to be wearied by any pains that were necessary to that end. And therefore, having once resolved not to see London, which he loved above all places, till he had perfectly learned the Greek tongue, he went to his own house in the country, and pursued it with that indefatigable industry, that it will not be believed in how short a time he was master of it, and accurately read all the Greek historians.

In this time, his house being within little more than ten miles of Oxford, he contracted familiarity and friendship with the most polite and accurate men of that university; who found such an immenseness of wit, and such a solidity of judgment in him, so infinite a fancy, bound in by a most logical ratiocination, such a vast knowledge, that he

was not ignorant in any thing, yet such an excessive humility, as if he had known nothing, that they frequently resorted and dwelt with him, as in a college situated in a purer air; so that his house was a university in a less volume, whither they came not so much for repose as study; and to examine and refine those grosser propositions, which laziness and consent made current in vulgar conversation.

Many attempts were made upon him by the instigation of his mother, (who was a lady of another persuasion in religion, and of a most masculine understanding, alloyed with the passion and infirmities of her own sex) to pervert him in his piety to the church of England, and to reconcile him to that of Rome; which they prosecuted with the more confidence, because he declined no opportunity or occasion of conference with those of that religion, whether priests or laics; having diligently studied the controversies, and exactly read all, or the choicest of the Greek and Latin fathers, and having a memory so stupendous, that he remembered on all occasions, whatsoever he read. And he was so great an enemy to that passion and uncharitableness, which he saw produced by difference of opinion in matters of religion, that in all those disputations with priests, and others of the Roman church, he affected to manifest all possible civility to their persons, and estimation of their parts; which made them retain still

some hope of his reduction, even when they had given over offering farther reasons to him to that purpose. But this charity towards them was much lessened, and any correspondence with them quite declined, when, by sinister arts, they had corrupted his two younger brothers, being both children, and stolen them from his house, and transported them beyond seas, and perverted his sisters; upon which occasion he writ two large discourses against the principal positions of that religion, with that sharpness of style, and full weight of reason, that the church is deprived of great jewels in the concealment of them, and that they were not published to the world.

He was superior to all those passions and affections which attend vulgar minds, and was guilty of no other ambition than of knowledge, and to be reputed a lover of all good men; and that made him too much a contemner of those arts, which must be indulged in the transactions of human affairs. In the last short parliament he was a burgess in the House of Commons; and from the debates, which were there managed with all imaginable gravity and sobriety, he contracted such a reverence to parliaments, that he thought it really impossible they could ever produce mischief or inconvenience to the kingdom; or that the kingdom could be tolerably happy in the intermission of them. And from the

unhappy and unseasonable dissolution of that convention, he harboured, it may be, some jealousy and prejudice to the court, towards which he was not before immoderately inclined; his father having wasted a full fortune there, in those offices and employments by which other men use to obtain a greater. He was chosen again this parliament to serve in the same place, and, in the beginning of it, declared himself very sharply and severely against those exorbitances, which had been most grievous to the state; for he was so rigid an observer of established laws and rules, that he could not endure the least breach or deviation from them; and thought no mischief so intolerable as the presumption of ministers of state to break positive rules, for reasons of state; or judges to transgress known laws, upon the title of conveniency or necessity; which made him so severe against the earl of Strafford, and the lord Finch, contrary to his natural gentleness and temper: insomuch as they who did not know his composition to be as free from revenge as it was from pride, thought that the sharpness to the former, might proceed from the memory of some unkindnesses, not without a mixture of injustice, from him towards his father. But without doubt he was free from those temptations, and in both cases was only misled by the authority of those who, he believed, understood the laws perfectly; of which himself was

utterly ignorant; and if the assumption, which was then scarce controverted, had been true, "That an endeavour to overthrow the fundamental laws of the kingdom was treason," a strict understanding might make reasonable conclusions to satisfy his own judgment, from the exorbitant parts of their several charges.

The great opinion he had of the uprightness and integrity of those persons who appeared most active, especially of Mr. Hampden, kept him longer from suspecting any design against the peace of the kingdom; and though he differed from them commonly in conclusion, he believed long their purposes were honest. When he grew better informed what was law, and discerned in them a desire to control that law by a vote of one or both houses, no man more opposed those attempts, and gave the adverse party more trouble by reason and argumentation; insomuch as he was, by degrees, looked upon as an advocate for the court; to which he contributed so little, that he declined those addresses, and even those invitations which he was obliged almost by civility to entertain. And he was so jealous of the least imagination that he should incline to preferment, that he affected even a moroseness to the court, and to the courtiers; and left nothing undone which might prevent and divert the king's or queen's favour towards him, but the deserving it. For when the king sent

for him once or twice to speak with him, and to give him thanks for his excellent comportment in those councils, which his majesty graciously termed "Doing him service," his answers were more negligent, and less satisfactory, than might be expected; as if he cared only that his actions should be just, not that they should be acceptable; and that his majesty should think that they proceeded only from the impulsion of conscience, without any sympathy in his affections; which from a stoical and sullen nature might not have been misinterpreted; yet, from a person of so perfect a habit of generous and obsequious compliance with all good men, might very well have been interpreted by the king as more than an ordinary averseness to his service: so that he took more pains, and more forced his nature to actions unagreeable and unpleasant to it, that he might not be thought to incline to the court, than most men have done to procure an office there. And if any thing but not doing his duty could have kept him from receiving a testimony of the king's grace and trust, at that time, he had not been called to his council; not that he was in truth averse from receiving public employments, for he had a great devotion to the king's person, and had before used some small endeavour to be recommended to him for a foreign negociation, and had once a desire to be sent ambassador into France; but he abhorred an ima-

gination or doubt should sink into the thoughts of any man, that in the discharge of his trust and duty in parliament, he had any bias to the court, or that the king himself should apprehend that he looked for a reward for being honest.

For this reason, when he heard it first whispered, "That the king had a purpose to make him a privy counsellor," for which there was in the beginning no other ground but because he was known sufficient, *(haud semper errat fama, aliquando et eligit)* he resolved to decline it; and at last suffered himself only to be overruled by the advice and persuasions of his friends, to submit to it. Afterwards, when he found that the king intended to make him secretary of state, he was positive to refuse it; declaring to his friends, "That he was most unfit for it, and that he must either do that which would be great disquiet to his own nature, or leave that undone which was most necessary to be done by one that was honoured with that place: for the most just and honest men did, every day, that which he could not give himself leave to do. And indeed he was so exact and strict an observer of justice and truth, that he believed those necessary condescensions and applications to the weakness of other men, and those arts and insinuations which are necessary for discoveries, and prevention of ill, would be in him a declension from his own rules

of life; though he acknowledged them fit, and absolutely necessary to be practiced in those employments. He was, in truth, so precise in the practic principles he prescribed himself, (to all others he was as indulgent) as if he had lived *in Republicâ Platonis, non in fæce Romuli.*

Two reasons prevailed with him to receive the seals, and but for those he had resolutely avoided them; the first the consideration that his refusal might bring some blemish upon the king's affairs, and that men would have believed, that he had refused so great an honour and trust, because he must have been with it obliged to do somewhat else not justifiable; and this he made matter of conscience, since he knew the king made choice of him before other men, especially because he thought him more honest than other men. The other was, lest he might be thought to avoid it out of fear to do an ungracious thing to the House of Commons, who were sorely troubled at the displacing sir Harry Vane, whom they looked upon as removed for having done them those offices they stood in need of; and the disdain of so popular an incumbrance wrought upon him next to the other. For as he had a full appetite of fame by just and generous actions, so he had an equal contempt of it by any servile expedients; and he so much the more consented to, and approv-

ed the justice upon sir Harry Vane, in his own private judgment, by how much he surpassed most men in the religious observation of a trust, the violation whereof he would not admit of any excuse for.

For these reasons, he submitted to the king's command, and became his secretary, with as humble and devoted an acknowledgment of the greatness of the obligation, as could be expressed, and as true a sense of it in his heart. Yet two things he could never bring himself to, whilst he continued in that office, that was to his death; for which he was contented to be reproached, as for omissions in a most necessary part of his place. The one, employing of spies, or giving any countenance, or entertainment to them. I do not mean such emissaries, as with danger would venture to view the enemy's camp, and bring intelligence of their number, or quartering, or any particulars that such an observation can comprehend; but those who by communication of guilt, or dissimulation of manners, wind themselves into such trusts and secrets as enable them to make discoveries. The other, the liberty of opening letters upon a suspicion that they might contain matter of dangerous consequence. For the first, he would say, "such instruments must be void of all ingenuity and common honesty, before they could be of use; and afterwards they could never be fit to be credited: and that no single preservation could be

worth so general a wound and corruption of human society, as the cherishing such persons would carry with it." The last he thought "such a violation of the law of nature, that no qualification by office could justify him in the trespass; and though he was convinced by the necessity and iniquity of the time, that those advantages of information were not to be declined, and were necessary to be practiced, he found means to put it off from himself, whilst he confessed he needed excuse and pardon for the omission; so unwilling was he to resign any part of good nature to an obligation in his office.

In all other particulars he filled his place with great sufficiency, being well versed in languages, to understand any that are used in business, and to make himself again understood. To speak of his integrity and his high disdain of any bait that might seem to look towards corruption, *in tanto viro, injuria virtutum fuerit.* Some sharp expressions he used against the archbishop of Canterbury; and his concurring in the first bill to take away the votes of bishops in the house of peers, gave occasion to some to believe, and opportunity to others to conclude, and publish, "That he was no friend to the church, and the established government of it; and troubled his very friends much, who were more confident of the contrary, than prepared to answer the allegations.

The truth is, he had unhappily contracted some

prejudice to the archbishop; and having observed his passions, when, it may be, multiplicity of business, or other indisposition had possessed him, did wish him less intangled and engaged in the business of the court, or state; though I speak it knowingly, he had a singular estimation and reverence of his great learning, and confessed integrity; and really thought his own letting himself loose to those expressions which implied a disesteem of the archbishop, or at least an acknowledgment of his infirmities, would enable him to shelter him from part of the storm he saw raised for his destruction; which he abominated with his soul.

The giving his consent to the first bill for the displacing the bishops, did proceed from two grounds: the first, his not understanding then the original of their right and suffrage there: the other, an opinion that the combination against the whole government of the church by bishops, was so violent and furious, that a less composition than the dispensing with their intermeddling in secular affairs, would not preserve the order. And he was persuaded to this by the profession of many persons of honour, who declared, "They did desire the one, and would not then press the other;" which in that particular, misled many men. But when his observation and experience made him discern more of their intentions than he before suspected, with great frankness he

opposed the second bill that was preferred for that purpose; and had, without scruple, the order itself in perfect reverence, and thought too great encouragement could not possibly be given to learning, nor too great rewards to learned men. He was never in the least degree swayed or moved by the objections which were made against that government in the church, (holding them most ridiculous) or affected to the other, which those men fancied to themselves.

He had a courage of the most clear and keen temper, and so far from fear, that he seemed not without some appetite of danger; and therefore, upon any occasion of action, he always engaged his person in those troops which he thought by the forwardness of the commanders, to be most like to be farthest engaged; and in all such encounters, he had about him an extraordinary cheerfulness, without at all affecting the execution that usually attended them; in which he took no delight, but took pains to prevent it, where it was not, by resistance, made necessary; insomuch, that at Edge-hill, when the enemy was routed, he was like to have incurred great peril, by interposing to save those who had thrown away their arms, and against whom, it may be, others were more fierce for their having thrown them away: so that a man might think, he came into the field chiefly out of curiosity to see the

face of danger, and charity to prevent the shedding of blood. Yet in his natural inclination he acknowledged he was addicted to the profession of a soldier; and shortly after he came to his fortune, before he was of age, he went into the Low Countries, with a resolution of procuring command, and to give himself up to it; from which he was diverted by the complete inactivity of that summer: so he returned into England, and shortly after entered upon that vehement course of study we mentioned before, till the first alarm from the north; then again he made ready for the field, and though he received some repulse in the command of a troop of horse, of which he had a promise, he went a volunteer with the earl of Essex.

From the entrance into this unnatural war, his natural chearfulness and vivacity grew clouded, and a kind of sadness and dejection of spirit stole upon him, which he had never been used to: yet being one of those who believed that one battle would end all differences, and that there would be so great a victory on one side, that the other would be compelled to submit to any conditions from the victor, (which supposition and conclusion generally sunk into the minds of most men, and prevented the looking after many advantages that might then have been laid hold of) he resisted those indispositions, *et in hactu, bellum inter remedia erat.* But after the king's

return from Brentford, and the furious resolution of the two houses not to admit any treaty for peace, those indispositions, which had before touched him, grew into a perfect habit of uncheerfulness; and he, who had been so exactly easy and affable to all men, that his face and countenance was always present, and vacant to his company, and held any cloudiness and less pleasantness of the visage a kind of rudeness or incivility, became on a sudden less communicable; and thence, very sad, pale, and exceedingly affected with the spleen. In his clothes and habit, which he had minded before always with more neatness, and industry, and expence, than is usual to so great a soul, he was not now only incurious, but too negligent; and in his reception of suitors, and the necessary or casual addresses to his place, so quick, and sharp, and severe, that there wanted not some men (strangers to his nature and disposition) who believed him proud and imperious; from which no mortal man was ever more free.

It is true, that as he was of a most incomparable gentleness, application, and even submission to good and worthy and entire men, so he was naturally (which could not be more evident in his place, which objected him to another conversation and intermixture than his own election would have done) *adversus malos injucundus;* and was so ill a dissembler of his dislike and disinclination to ill men, that it was

not possible for such not to discern it. There was once, in the House of Commons, such a declared acceptation of the good service an eminent member had done to them, and, as they said, to the whole kingdom, that it was moved, he being present, "That the speaker might, in the name of the whole house, give him thanks, and then that every member might, as a testimony of his particular acknowledgment, stir or move his hat towards him; the which (though not ordered) when very many did, the lord Falkland (who believed the service itself not to be of that moment, and that an honourable and generous person could not have stooped to it for any recompence) instead of moving his hat, stretched both his arms out, and clasped his hands together upon the crown of his hat, and held it close down to his head; that all men might see, how odious that flattery was to him, and that very approbation of the person, though at the same time most popular.

When there was any overture, or hope of peace, he would be more erect, and vigorous, and exceedingly solicitous to press any thing which he thought might promote it; and sitting among his friends, often after a deep silence, and frequent sighs, would, with a shrill and sad accent, ingeminate the word Peace, Peace; and would passionately profess, "that the very agony of the war, and the view of the cala-

mities and desolation the kingdom did and must endure, took his sleep from him, and would shortly break his heart. This made some think, or pretend to think, "that he was so much enamoured of peace, that he would have been glad the king should have bought it at any price; which was a most unreasonable calumny. As if a man that was himself the most punctual and precise in every circumstance that might reflect upon conscience or honour, could have wished the king to have committed a trespass against either. And yet this senseless scandal made some impression upon him, or at least he used it for an excuse of the daringness of his spirit; for at the leaguer before Gloucester, when his friend passionately reprehended him for exposing his person unnecessarily to danger, (for he delighted to visit the trenches, and nearest approaches, and to discover what the enemy did) as being so much beside the duty of his place, that it might be understood rather to be against it, he would say merrily, "that his office could not take away the privileges of his age; and that a secretary in war might be present at the greatest secret of danger; but withal alledged seriously, "that it concerned him to be more active in enterprises of hazard, than other men; that all might see, that his impatience for peace proceeded not from pusillanimity, or fear to adventure his own person.

In the morning before the battle, as always upon action, he was very cheerful, and put himself into the first rank of the lord Byron's regiment, then advancing upon the enemy, who had lined the hedges on both sides with musketeers; from whence he was shot with a musket, in the lower part of the belly, and in the instant falling from his horse, his body was not found till the next morning; till when, there was some hope he might have been a prisoner; though his nearest friends, who knew his temper, received small comfort from that imagination. Thus fell that incomparable young man, in the four-and-thirtieth year of his age, having so much dispatched the true business of life, that the eldest rarely attain to that immense knowledge, and the youngest enter not into the world with more innocency: whosoever leads such a life, needs be the less anxious upon how short warning it is taken from him.

Cromwell.

He was one of those men, *quos vituperare nc inimici quidem possunt, nisi ut simul laudent;* whom his very enemies could not condemn without commending him at the same time: for he could never have done half that mischief, without great parts of cou-

rage, industry, and judgment. He must have had a wonderful understanding in the natures and humours of men, and as great a dexterity in applying them; who from a private and obscure birth, (though of a good family) without interest or estate, alliance or friendship, could raise himself to such a height, and compound and knead such opposite and contradictory tempers, humours, and interests into a consistence, that contributed to his designs, and to their own destruction; whilst himself grew insensibly powerful enough to cut off those by whom he had climbed, in the instant that they projected to demolish their own building. What was said of Cinna may very justly be said of him: *Ausum eum quæ nemo auderet bonus, perfecisse quæ à nullo, nisi fortissimo, perfici possent.* He attempted those things which no good man durst have ventured on; and atchieved those in which none but a valiant and great man could have succeeded. Without doubt, no man with more wickedness ever attempted any thing, or brought to pass what he desired more wickedly, more in the face and contempt of religion, and moral honesty; yet wickedness as great as his could never have accomplished those designs, without the assistance of a great spirit, an admirable circumspection and sagacity, and a most magnanimous resolution.

When he appeared first in the parliament, he seemed to have a person in no degree gracious, no orna-

ment of discourse, none of those talents which use to conciliate the affections of the stander by: yet as he grew into place and authority, his parts seemed to be raised, as if he had had concealed faculties, till he had occasion to use them; and when he was to act the part of a great man, he did it without any indecency, notwithstanding the want of custom.

After he was confirmed and invested protector by the humble petition and advice, he consulted with very few upon any action of importance, nor communicated any enterprise he resolved upon, with more than those who were to have principal parts in the execution of it; nor with them sooner than was absolutely necessary. What he once resolved, in which he was not rash, he would not be dissuaded from, nor endure any contradiction of his power and authority; but extorted obedience from them who were not willing to yield it. * * * *

To conclude his character, Cromwell was not so far a man of blood, as to follow Machiavel's method; which prescribes, upon a total alteration of government, as a thing absolutely necessary, to cut off all the heads of those, and extirpate their families, who are friends to the old one. It was confidently reported, that in the council of officers, it was more than once proposed, "That there might be a general massacre of all the royal party, as the only expedient to secure the government, but that Cromwell

would never consent to it;" it may be, out of too great a contempt of his enemies. In a word, as he was guilty of many crimes, against which damnation is denounced, and for which hell-fire is prepared, so he had some good qualities which have caused the memory of some men in all ages to be celebrated; and he will be looked upon by posterity as a brave wicked man.

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2. Clarendon wrote also a Survey of Hobbes's Leviathan. This was likewise composed at Moulins.

It is remarked by Hume as a singularity, how much English history is indebted to four great men who possessed the highest dignity in the law—More, Bacon, Whitlocke, and Clarendon.

HOWEL.

JAMES HOWEL, the son of a clergyman in Caermarthenshire, was born about 1596. He was initiated in grammar-learning at the Free-school of Hereford, whence he removed to Jesus College, Oxford, of which his elder brother was a fellow. After taking his batchelor's degree, he quitted the university for London, where, by the interest of sir Robert Mansel, he was appointed steward to a patent-glass manufactory; and in 1619, was sent abroad by the company as their agent. He had thus an opportunity of visiting many commercial towns in Holland, Flanders, France,

* Howel should have come in somewhat before perhaps; but it is of little consequence, as he is in the reign in which he most distinguished himself.

Spain, and Italy; and his mind was enlarged by the observation of new objects, and by the acquisition of many of the modern languages.

Soon after his return to London, in 1621, he was elected fellow of Jesus College, and after a short interval, accepted an offer to attend Mr. Richard Altham, son of baron Altham, in the tour of France. About 1624, being then in England, he obtained the office of secretary to lord Scrope (afterwards earl of Sunderland) when president of the north. Residing now at York, the corporation of Richmond chose him for one of their representatives in the parliament of 1627. In 1630, he accompanied Robert, earl of Leicester, appointed ambassador extraordinary to the court of Denmark, in quality of secretary. His next appointment of any consequence was that of clerk of the council. He was finally reduced however to the necessity of writing for bread; and by his writings rendered himself an object of suspicion both to the parliamentarians and royalists. He has had the credit of great loyalty; though from his quaint remark on the death of the king, this supposition is rendered somewhat question-

able. He says, "I will attend with patience how England will thrive, now that she is let blood in the basilical vein, and cured, as they say, of the king's evil." After the restoration he was made historiographer-royal, and was the first who ever obtained that title in England. He died in 1666.

Howel was the author of various publications; but the only one which is now remembered is, his "Familiar Letters," pedantically entitled *Epistolæ Hoelianæ*. They were first printed in 1645, and are said to be "partly historical, partly political, partly philosophical." The greater part of them is said to have been composed in prison, and as letters, to be fictitious. They afford a lively picture of the times, and contain anecdotes not to be met with elsewhere. Notwithstanding some quaintness of wit and expression, they are justly considered as the best specimens of familiar letters which had then appeared in the language. Others of his letters, certainly genuine, written to lord Strafford, may be found among the papers of that nobleman.

To Christopher Jones, Esq. at Gray's-Inn, from Naples.

Honoured Father,

I must still style you so, since I was adopted your son by so good a mother as Oxford: my mind lately prompted me, that I should commit a great solecism, if among the rest of my friends in England, I should leave you unsaluted, whom I love so dearly well, specially having such a fair and pregnant opportunity as the hand of this worthy gentleman, your cousin Morgan, who is now posting hence for England: he will tell you how it fares with me; how any time these thirty odd months I have been tossed from shore to shore, and passed under various meridians, and am now in this voluptuous and luxuriant city of Naples: and though these frequent removes and tumblings under climes of differing temper were not without some danger, yet the delight which accompanied them was far greater; and it is impossible for any man to conceive the true pleasure of peregrination, but he who actually enjoys and puts it in practice. Believe it, sir, that one year well employed abroad by one of mature judgment (which you know I want very much) advantageth more in point of useful and solid knowledge than three in any of our universities. You know *running waters are the purest*, so they that traverse the world up and down have the clearest understanding; being faithful eye-witnesses of those things which others receive but in trust, whereunto

they must yield an intuitive consent, and a kind of implicit faith. When I passed through some parts of Lombardy, among other things I observed the physiognomies and complexions of the people, men and women; and I thought I was in Wales, for divers of them have a cast of countenance, and a nearer resemblance with our nation, than any I ever saw yet: and the reason is obvious; for the Romans having been near upon three hundred years among us, where they had four legions (before the English nation or language had any being) by so long a coalition and tract of time the two nations must needs copulate and mix: insomuch that I believe there is yet remaining in Wales many of the Roman race, and divers in Italy of the British. Among other resemblances, one was in their prosody, and vein of versifying or rhyming, which is like our bards, who hold agnominations, and enforcing of consonant words or syllables, one upon the other, to be the greatest elegance. As for example, in Welsh, *Tewgris, todyrris ty'r derrin, gwillt,* &c. so have I seen divers old rhymes in Italian running so: *Donne, O danno che felo affronto: Inselva salvo a me: Piu caro cuore,* &c.

Being lately in Rome, among other pasquils, I met with one that was against the Scots; though it had some gall in it, yet it had a great deal of wit, especially towards the conclusion: so that I think if king James saw it, he would but laugh at it.

As I remember, some years since there was a very abusive satire in verse brought to our king: and as the passages were reading before him he often said, that if there were no more men in England, the rogue should hang for it: at last, being come to the conclusion, which was (after all his railing)

Now God preserve the king, the queen, the peers,
And grant the author long may wear his ears;

this pleased his majesty so well that he broke into a laughter, and said, *By my soul so thou shalt for me;* thou art a bitter, but thou art a witty knave.

When you write to Monmouthshire, I pray, send my respects to my tutor, master Moor Fortune, and my service to sir Charles Williams: and according to that relation which is betwixt us at Oxford,

I rest

Your constant son to serve you,

Oct. 8, 1621. J. H.

To my honoured Friend and Father Mr. B. Johnson.

Father Ben,

Being lately in France, and returning in a coach from Paris to Rouen, I lighted upon the society of a knowing gentleman, who related to me a choice story,

which peradventure you may make use of in your way.

Some hundred and odd years since, there was in France one captain Coucy, a gallant gentleman of ancient extraction, and keeper of Coucy Castle, which is yet standing, and in good repair. He fell in love with a young gentlewoman, and courted her for his wife: there was reciprocal love between them, but her parents understanding of it, by way of prevention, they shuffled up a forced match 'twixt her and one monsieur Fayel, who was a great heir. Captain Coucy hereupon quitted France in great discontent, and went to the wars in Hungary against the Turk, where he received a mortal wound, not far from Buda. Being carried to his lodging, he languished some days; but a little before his death he spoke to an ancient servant of his, that he had many proofs of his fidelity and truth, but now he had a great business to intrust him with, which he conjured him by all means to do; which was, that after his death he should get his body to be opened, and then to take his heart out of his breast, and put it in an earthen pot to be baked to powder; then to put the powder into a handsome box, with that bracelet of hair he had worn long about his left wrist, which was a lock of mademoiselle Fayel's hair, and put it among the powder, together with a

little note he had written with his own blood to her; and after he had given him the rites of burial, to make all the speed he could to France, and deliver the said box to mademoiselle Fayel. The old servant did as his master had commanded him, and so went to France; and coming one day to monsieur Fayel's house, he suddenly met him with one of his servants, and examined him, because he knew he was captain Coucy's servant; and finding him timorous, and faultering in his speech, he searched him and found the said box in his pocket, with the note which expressed what was therein: he dismissed the bearer, with menaces that he should come no more near his house. Monsieur Fayel going in, sent for his cook, and delivered him the powder, charging him to make a little well-relished dish of it, without losing a jot of it, for it was a very costly thing; and commanded him to bring it in himself, after the last course at supper. The cook bringing in the dish accordingly, monsieur Fayel commanded all to avoid the room; and began a serious discourse with his wife; however, since he had married her he observed she was always melancholy, and feared she was inclining to a consumption, therefore he had provided her a very precious cordial, which he was well assured would cure her: thereupon he made her eat up the whole dish; and afterwards much im-

portuning him to know what it was, he told her at last, she had eaten Coucy's heart, and so drew the box out of his pocket, and shewed her the note, and the bracelet. In a sudden exultation of joy, she with a far-fetched sigh, said, *This is a precious cordial indeed;* and so licked the dish, saying, *It is so precious that 'tis pity to put ever any meat upon it.* So she went to bed, and in the morning she was found stone dead*.

This gentleman told me that this sad story is painted in Coucy Castle, and remains fresh to this day.

In my opinion, which veils to yours, this is choice and rich stuff for you to put upon your loom, and make a curious web of.

I thank you for the last regalo you gave me at your *musæum*, and for the good company. I heard you censured lately at court, that you have lighted two fold upon sir Inigo, and that you write with a porcupine's quill dipt in too much gall. Excuse me

* This is a true story, and happened about the year 1180. It is related by Fauchet at large, from an old authentic French Chronicle; and he then adds, *Ainsi finirent les amours du Chastelain du Couci et de la dame de Faiel.*—Regnard de Couci was famous for his *chansons* and chivalry, though still more for his unfortunate love, which, in the old French Romances, became proverbial. This affecting story gave rise to an old metrical English Romance, entitled "The Knight of Courtesy," and was *woven in tapestry* in Coucy Castle in France.

that I am so free with you; it is because I am, in no common way of friendship,

Yours,

Westminster, May 3, 1635. J. H.

To Dr. Duppa, L. B. of Chichester, his Highness's Tutor at St. James's.

My Lord,

It is a well-becoming and very worthy work you are about, not to suffer Mr. Ben Jonson to go silently to his grave, or rot so suddenly: being newly come to town, and understanding that your *Jonsonus Verbius* was in the press, upon the solicitation of sir Thomas Hawkins, I suddenly fell upon the ensuing decastich, which, if your lordship please, may have room among the rest.

Upon my honoured Friend and Father, Mr. Ben Jonson.

And is thy glass run out, is that oil spent
Which light to such strong sinewy labours lent?
Well, Ben, I now perceive that all the nine,
Tho' they their utmost forces should combine,
Cannot prevail 'gainst Night's three Daughters, but
One still must spin, one wind, the other cut.

Yet in despite of distaff, clue, and knife,
Thou in thy strenuous lines hast got a light,
Which like thy bays shall flourish ev'ry age,
While sock or buskin shall attend the stage.

Sic Vaticinatur—HOELLUS.

So I rest, with many devoted respects to your lordship, as being

Your very humble servitor,

London, May 1, 1636. J. H.

HARRINGTON.

JAMES HARRINGTON, descended of an ancient and noble family in Rutlandshire, was born in 1611. He entered in 1629 gentleman commoner of Trinity College, Oxford, where he became pupil to the famous Dr. Chillingworth. After quitting college, he in a short time departed on his travels, first visiting Holland, at that time the principal school of martial discipline, and (what was still more interesting to him) a country flourishing under the influence of that liberty she had lately wrested from the tyranny of Spain. Here he commenced the study of politics: for he had been often heard to say, that before he left England, he knew no more of monarchy, anarchy, aris-

tocracy, democrary, oligarchy, or the like, than as hard words, of which he learnt the signification in his dictionary. For some months, he enlisted himself in the regiment of lord Craven, and of sir Robert Stone; and being much at the Hague, was introduced at the court of the prince of Orange, and that of the queen of Bohemia, then a fugitive in Holland. He had an opportunity also of making an excursion to Denmark.

On leaving Holland, he pursued his rout through Flanders, to France and Italy; and on his return to England, was admitted by the king one of his privy chamber extraordinary. During his stay in Italy, he furnished himself with all the books in the Italian language, which treated of the subject of politics.

When Charles I. was brought by the commissioners appointed for that purpose, from Newcastle nearer to London, Harrington was nominated to wait on his majesty, as a person known to him before, and connected with no faction. The proposal was accepted by Charles, and he was made groom of the bedchamber; an office he afterwards lost, because he refused to take an oath, either that he would not assist or conceal the king's escape.

Though Harrington had too much honesty and strength of character to disguise his principles, even to the king, it appears that Charles had great affection for him, and reposed in him an entire confidence. Harrington attended him on the scaffold, where he received a token of his regard.

After the king's death, he was observed to confine himself much to his study, a circumstance which his friends attributed to melancholy or discontent. Harrington, however, soon convinced them of their mistake, by exhibiting a copy of his *Oceana*. The observations, too, with which he accompanied this evidence of his laudable occupation, are highly deserving of attention. He observed, that ever since he began to examine things seriously, he had applied himself chiefly to the study of civil government, as of the first importance to the peace and happiness of mankind; that he had succeeded at least to his own satisfaction, being convinced that no government is of so accidental or arbitrary an institution, as people are wont to imagine, there being in societies natural causes producing their necessary effects, as well as in the earth or in the air. Hence (says he) the trou-

bles of the times are not to be attributed wholly to wilfulness or faction—neither to the misgovernment of the prince nor the stubbornness of the people; but to a change in the balance of property, which since Henry the Seventh's time has been daily falling into the scale of the commons, from that of the king and the lords.

This is a distinct statement of the principle (which is developed in his work) that "Empire follows the balance of property"—a principle of fundamental importance in politics, and for the discovery of which we are indebted to Harrington. Ever intent upon giving currency to his principles, he was member of a club called the Rota, which met in the evening in New Palace Yard, Westminster, where he delivered discourses on topics connected with his particular system of politics.

After the restoration, Harrington was visited, among others, by a noted royalist, probably with an insidious design, who solicited him to draw up instructions for the king, by which he might be enabled to govern, with satisfaction to the people and safety to himself. This was performed; but the spirit of these instructions

ill accorded with the selfish views of some of the courtiers; and on the 28th of December, 1661, he was seized pursuant to an order from his majesty, by sir William Poultney and others, for treasonable designs and practices, and committed to the Tower. He was afterwards examined concerning a plot he was said to have contrived against his majesty's person and government; but no proof appearing against him, he was ultimately released. He died in 1677.

The *Oceana* (by which England is designated) is a political Romance, divided into four parts. 1. The Preliminaries, shewing the principles of government. 2. The Council of Legislators, shewing the art of making a commonwealth. 3. The Model of the Commonwealth of *Oceana*, shewing the effect of such an art. 4. The Corollary, shewing some consequences of such a government.

In the following passages we have a statement of his general principles.

There is a common right law of nature, or interest of the whole; which is more excellent, and so acknowledged to be by the agents themselves, than the right or interest of the parts only. "Wherefore,

though it may be truly said, that the creatures are naturally carried forth to their proper utility or profit, that ought not to be taken in too general a sense; seeing divers of them abstain from their own profit, either in regard of those of the same kind, or at least of their young*."

Mankind then must either be less just than the creature, or acknowledge also his common interest to be common right. And if reason be nothing else but interest, and the interest of mankind be the right interest, then the reason of mankind must be right reason. Now compute well; for if the interest of popular government come the nearest to the interest of mankind, then the reason of popular government must come the nearest to right reason.

But it may be said, that the difficulty remains yet; for be the interest of popular government right reason, a man does not look upon reason as it is right or wrong in itself, but as it makes for him or against him. Wherefore, unless you can show such orders of a government, as like those of God in nature, shall be able to constrain this or that creature, to shake off that inclination which is more peculiar to it, and take up that which regards the common good or interest; all this is to no more end, than to persuade every man in a popular government not to carve himself of that which he desires most, but to

* Grotius.

be mannerly at the public table, and give the best from himself to decency and the common interest. But that such orders may be established, as may, nay, must give the upper hand in all cases to common right or interest, notwithstanding the nearness of that which sticks to every man in private, and this in a way of equal certainty and facility, is known even to girls, being no other than those that are of common practice with them in divers cases. For example, two of them have a cake yet undivided, which was given between them: that each of them therefore may have that which is due, divide, says one to the other, and I will chuse; or let me divide, and you shall chuse. If this be but once agreed upon, it is enough; for the divident, dividing unequally, loses, in regard that the other takes the better half; wherefore she divides equally, and so both have right. O the depth of the wisdom of God! and yet by the mouths of babes and sucklings has he set forth his strength; that which great philosophers are disputing upon in vain, is brought to light by two harmless girls, even the whole mystery of a commonwealth, which lies only in dividing and chusing. Nor has God (if his works in nature be understood) left so much to mankind to dispute upon, as who shall divide and who shall choose, but distributed them for ever into two orders, whereof the

one has the natural right of dividing, and the other of chusing. For example:

The Orders of Popular Government in Nature.

A commonwealth is but a civil society of men; let us take any number of men (as twenty) and immediately make a commonwealth. Twenty men (if they be not all idiots, perhaps if they be) can never come so together, but there will be such a difference in them, that about a third will be wiser, or at least less foolish, than the rest; these upon acquaintance, though it be but small, will be discovered, and (as stags that have the largest heads) lead the herd: for while the six discoursing and arguing one with another, shew the eminence of their parts, the fourteen discover things that they never thought on; or are cleared in divers truths which had formerly perplexed them. Wherefore in matter of common concernment, difficulty, or danger, they hang upon their lips as children upon their fathers; and the influence thus acquired by the six, the eminence of whose parts is found to be a stay and comfort to the fourteen, is (*authoritas patrum*) the authority of the fathers. Wherefore this can be no other than a natural aristocracy, diffused by God throughout the whole body of mankind, to this end and purpose; and therefore such as the people have not only a na-

tural but a positive obligation to make use of as their guides, as where the people of Israel are commanded to take wise men, and understanding, and known among their tribes, to be made rulers over them. (Deut. i. 13.) The six then approved of, as in the present case, are the senate, not by hereditary right, in regard of the greatness of their estates only, (which would tend to such power as might force or draw the people) but by election for their excellent parts, which tends to the advancement of the influence of their virtue or authority that leads the people. Wherefore the office of the senate is not to be commanders, but counsellors of the people; and that which is proper to counsellors is first to debate, and afterward to give advice in the business whereupon they have debated; whence the decrees of the senate are never laws, nor so (*senatûs consulta*) called; and these being maturely framed, it is their duty (*ferre ad populum*) to propose the case to the people. Wherefore the senate is no more than the debate of the commonwealth. But to debate, is to discern or put a difference between things that, being alike, are not the same; or it is separating and weighing this reason against that, and that reason against this; which is dividing.

The senate having then divided, who shall chuse? Ask the girls: for if she that divided must have chosen also, it had been little worse for the other in

case she had not divided at all, but kept the whole cake to herself, in regard that being to chuse too she divided accordingly. Wherefore, if the senate have any farther power than to divide, the commonwealth can never be equal. But in a commonwealth consisting of a single council, there is no other to choose than that which divided; whence it is that such a council fails not to scramble, that is, to be factious, there being no other dividing of the cake in that case but among themselves.

Nor is there any remedy but to have another council to chuse. The wisdom of the few may be the light of mankind; but the interest of the few is not the profit of mankind, nor of a commonwealth. Wherefore, seeing we have granted interest to be reason, they must not chuse lest it put out their light. But as the council dividing consists of the wisdom of the commonwealth, so the assembly or council chusing should consist of the interest of the commonwealth: as the wisdom of the commonwealth is in the aristocracy, so the interest of the commonwealth is in the whole body of the people. And whereas this, in case the commonwealth consist of a whole nation, is too unwieldy a body to be assembled, this council is to consist of such a representative as may be equal, and so constituted as can never contract any other interest than that of the whole people; the manner whereof, being such

as is best shewn by exemplification, I remit to the model. But in the present case, the six dividing, and the fourteen chusing, must of necessity take in the whole interest of the twenty.

Dividing and chusing, in the language of a commonwealth, is debating and resolving; and whatsoever upon debate of the senate is proposed to the people, and resolved by them, is enacted (*authoritate patrum et jussu populi*) by the authority of the fathers, and by the power of the people, which concurring, make a law.

But the law being made, says Leviathan, *is but words and paper, without the hands and swords of men;* wherefore as those two orders of a commonwealth, namely, the senate and the people, are legislative, so of necessity there must be a third to be executive of the laws made, and this is the magistracy; in which order, with the rest being up by art, the commonwealth consists of *the senate proposing, the people resolving, and the magistracy executing:* whereby partaking of the *aristocracy*, as in the senate; of the *democracy*, as in the people; and of *monarchy*, as in the magistracy, it is complete. Now there being no other commonwealth but this in art or nature, it is no wonder if Machiavel has shewed us that the ancients held this only to be good; but it seems strange to me that they should hold that there could be any other: for if there be such a thing as pure mo-

narchy, yet that there should be such a one as pure aristocracy, or pure democracy, is not in my understanding. But the magistracy, both in number and function, is different in different commonwealths. Nevertheless, there is one condition of it that must be the same in every one, or it dissolves the commonwealth where it is wanting. And this is no less than that as the hand of the magistrate is the executive power of the law, so the head of the magistrate is answerable to the people, that his execution be according to the law; by which Leviathan may see, that the hand or sword that executes the law is in it, and not above it.

Then after touching slightly on the several commonwealths of Israel, Athens, Lacedemon, Carthage, Rome, Venice, Switzerland, and Holland, our author proceeds;

But that we may observe a little farther how the heathen politicians have written, not only out of nature, but as it were out of Scripture: As in the commonwealth of Israel, God is said to have been king; so the commonwealth where the law is king, is said by Aristotle to be the kingdom of God. And where by the lusts or passions of men a power is set above that of the law deriving from reason, which is the

dictate of God, God in that sense is rejected or deposed, that he should not reign over them, as he was in Israel. And yet Leviathan will have it, that "by reading of these Greek and Latin (he might as well in this sense have said Hebrew) authors, young men, and all others that are unprovided of the antidote of solid reason, receiving a strong and delightful impression of the great exploits of war atchieved by the conductors of their armies, receive withal a pleasing idea of all they have done besides: and imagine their great prosperity not to have proceeded from the emulation of particular men, but from the virtue of their popular form of government; not considering the frequent seditions and civil wars produced by the imperfection of their polity." Where first, the blame he lays to the heathen authors is in his sense laid to the Scripture; and whereas he holds them to be young men, or men of no antidote, that are of like opinions, it should seem that Machiavel, the sole retriever of this ancient prudence, is to his solid reason a beardless boy that has newly read Livy. And how solid his reason is may appear, where he grants the great prosperity of ancient commonwealths, which is to give up the controversy. For such an effect must have some adequate cause; which to evade, he insinuates that it was nothing else but the emulation of particular men: as if so great an emulation could have been generated with-

out as great virtue; so great virtue without the best education; the best education without the best laws; or the best laws any otherwise than by the excellency of their polity.

But if some of these commonwealths, as being less perfect in their polity than others, have been more seditious, it is not more an argument of the infirmity of this or that commonwealth in particular, than of the excellency of that kind of polity in general; which if they that have not altogether reached, nevertheless had greater prosperity, what would befal them that should reach?

In answer to which question let me invite Leviathan, who in all other governments gives the advantage to monarchy for perfection, to a better disquisition of it by these three assertions.

The first, that the perfection of government lies upon such a libration in the frame of it, that no man or men in or under it can have the interest; or having the interest, can have the power to disturb it with sedition.

The second, that monarchy, reaching the perfection of the kind, reaches not to the perfection of government; but must have some dangerous flaw in it.

The third, that popular government, reaching the perfection of the kind, reaches the perfection of government, and has no flaw in it.

The first assertion requires no proof. For the proof of the second, monarchy, as has been shewn, is of two kinds, the one by arms, the other by a nobility; and there is no other kind in art or nature: for if there have been anciently some governments called kingdoms, as one of the Goths in Spain, and another of the Vandals in Africa, where the king ruled without a nobility, and by a council of the people only; it is expressly said by the authors that mention them, that the kings were but the captains, and that the people not only gave them laws, but deposed them as often as they pleased. Nor is it possible in reason that it should be otherwise in like cases; wherefore these were either no monarchies, or had greater flaws in them than any other.

But for a monarchy by arms, as that of the Turk, (which of all models that ever were, comes up to the perfection of the kind) it is not in the wit or power of man to cure it of that dangerous flaw, that the nobility had frequent interest and perpetual power, by their retainers and tenants, to raise sedition; and (whereas the Janizaries occasion this kind of calamity no sooner than they make an end of it) to levy a lasting war, to the vast effusion of blood, and that even upon occasions wherein the people, but for their dependence upon their lords, had no concernment, as in the feud of the red and white. The like has been frequent in Spain, France, Germany, and other

monarchies of this kind; wherefore monarchy by a nobility is no perfect government.

For the proof of the third assertion; Leviathan yields it to me, that there is no commonwealth but monarchical or popular: wherefore if no monarchy be a perfect government, then either there is no perfect government, or it must be popular: for which kind of constitution I have something more to say, than Leviathan has said, or ever will be able to say for monarchy. As,

First, that it is the government that was never conquered by any monarch, from the beginning of this world to this day: for if the commonwealths of Greece came under the yoke of the kings of Macedon, they were first broken by themselves.

Secondly, that it is the government that has frequently led mighty monarchs in triumph.

Thirdly, that it is the government, which, if it has been seditious, it has not been so from any imperfection in the kind, but in the particular constitution; which, wherever the like has happened, must have been inequal.

Fourthly, that it is the government, which, if it has been any thing near equal, was never seditious; or let him shew me what sedition has happened in Lacedemon or Venice.

Fifthly, that it is the government, which, attaining to perfect equality, has such a libration in the

frame of it, that no man living can shew which way any man or men, in or under it, can contract any such interest or power as should be able to disturb the commonwealth with sedition; wherefore an equal commonwealth is that only which is without flaw, and contains in it the full perfection of government.

It appears, however, that Harrington's is not a commonwealth to the exclusion of nobility: for a little farther on, he says:

It will be convenient in this place to speak a word to such as go about to insinuate to the nobility or gentry a fear of the people, or to the people a fear of the nobility or gentry, as if their interests were destructive to each other; when indeed an army may as well consist of soldiers without officers, or of officers without soldiers, as a commonwealth (especially such a one as is capable of greatness) of a people without a gentry, or of a gentry without a people. Wherefore this (though not always so intended, as may appear by Machiavel, who else would be guilty) is a pernicious error. There is something first in the making of a commonwealth; then in the governing of it; and last of all, in the leading of its armies; which (though there be great divines, great lawyers, great men in all professions) seems to be peculiar only to the genius of a gentleman.

I shall give one short extract more from this intelligent writer. When the lord Archon had completely organized the commonwealth of *Oceana*, he abdicated the magistracy. The following remarks appear to be founded in deep political wisdom.

The senate, as struck with astonishment, continuing silent; men upon so sudden an accident being altogether unprovided of what to say, till the Archon withdrawing, and being almost at the door, divers of the knights flew from their places, offering as it were to lay violent hands on him, while he escaping left the senate with the tears in their eyes, as children that had lost their father; and to rid himself of all farther importunity, retired to a country house of his, being remote and very private, insomuch that no man could tell for some time what was become of him. Thus the law-maker happened to be the first object and reflection of the law made: for as liberty of all things is the most welcome to a people, so is there nothing more abhorrent from their nature than ingratitude. We, accusing the Roman people of this crime against some of their greatest benefactors, as Camillus, heap mistake upon mistake; for being not so competent judges of what belongs to liberty as they were, we take upon us to be more competent judges of virtue. And whereas virtue, for being a

vulgar thing among them, was of no less rate than jewels are with such as wear the most; we are selling this precious stone, which we have ignorantly raked out of the Roman ruins, at such a rate as the Switzers did that which they took in the baggage of Charles of Burgundy. For that Camillus had stood more firm against the ruin of Rome, than her capitol, was acknowledged; but on the other side, that he stood as firm for the patricians against the liberty of the people, was as plain: wherefore he never wanted those of the people that would die at his foot in the field, nor that would withstand him to his beard in the city. An example in which they that think Camillus had wrong, neither do themselves right nor the people of Rome; who in this signify no less than that they had a scorn of slavery beyond the fear of ruin, which is the height of magnanimity. The like might be shewn by other examples objected against this and other popular governments, as in the banishment of Aristides the Just from Athens, by the ostracism, which first was no punishment, nor ever understood for so much as a disparagement; but tended only to the security of the commonwealth, through the removal of a citizen (whose riches or power with a party was suspected) out of harm's way for the space of ten years, neither to the diminution of his estate, or honour. And next, though the virtue of Aristides might in itself be unquestioned, yet for him

under the name of the Just, to become universal umpire of the people in all cases; even to the neglect of the legal ways and orders of the commonwealth, approached so much to the prince, that the Athenians, doing Aristides no wrong, did their government no more than right in removing him; which therefore is not so probable to have come to pass, as Plutarch presumes, through the envy of Themistocles, seeing Aristides was far more popular than Themistocles, who soon after took the same walk upon a worse occasion.

The *Oceana* was dedicated to Oliver Cromwell, who after perusing it, said, "The gentleman would like to trepan me out of my power; but what I have got by the sword, I will not quit for a little paper shot."

Harrington was the author of several other compositions, all of a political nature; but as the whole of his works have been collected in one volume 4to. by Mr. Toland, and are consequently accessible to most readers, it were needless to specify them.

CLEIVELAND.

JOHN CLEIVELAND, poet and royalist, was born in 1613, at Loughborough, in Leicestershire. In 1627, he entered at Christ's College, Cambridge, where, in 1631, he took the degree of bachelor of arts. About three years after, he was elected fellow of St. John's College, in the same university, and, in 1635, proceeded master of arts. He was both tutor and rhetoric reader in his college.

On the breaking out of the civil wars, he is said to have been the first champion in verse for the royal cause, in which he exerted all his influence and interest. He was at length seized at Norwich, 1655, as "a person of great abilities," adverse and dangerous to the reigning government, and sent prisoner to Yarmouth; but on sending a humble petition to the lord protector, he was again set at liberty. He after-

wards became member of a club of wits and royalists in London, of which Butler, the well-known author of Hudibras, was a member. He died in 1658.

Cleiveland is most remembered as a witty poet; he is mentioned, in conjunction with Donne, by Johnson, in his Life of Cowley, as being at the head of what he calls the metaphysical poets. His prose consists only of two or three small pieces, of which the most amusing is the character of a *Diurnal-maker*. A part of it will furnish an adequate specimen of his manner; it abounds in the quaintest wit, such as distinguishes his poetry. The *Diurnals* were news-papers of the parliament side, resembling modern court-gazettes.

The Character of a Diurnal-maker.

A diurnal-maker is the sub-almoner of history, Queen Mab's Register; one whom, by the same figure that a north-country pedlar is a merchant-man, you may style an author: it is the like over-reach of language, where every thin tinder-cloaked quack is doctor; when a clumsy cobler usurps the attribute of our English peers, and is vamped a translator; list him a writer, and you smother Geoffrey in swabberslops;

the very name of dabbler oversets him; he is swallowed up in the praise, like sir Samuel Luke in a great saddle, nothing to be seen but the giddy feather in his crown. They call him a Mercury, but he becomes the epithet like the little negro mounted on the elephant, just such another blot-rampant. He has not stuffings sufficient for the reproach of a scribbler, but it hangs about him like an old wife's skin, when the flesh hath forsaken her, lank and loose. He defames a good title, as well as most of our modern noblemen, those veins of greatness, the body politic's most peccant humours, blistered into lords. He hath so raw-boned a being, that however you render him, he rubs it out, and makes rags of the expression. The silly countryman (who seeing an ape in a scarlet coat, blest his young worship, and gave his landlord joy of the hopes of his house) did not slander his compliment with worse application than he that names this shred an historian. To call him an historian is to knight a mandrake; it is to view him through a perspective, and, by that gross hyperbole, to give the reputation of an engineer to a maker of mouse-traps. Such an historian would hardly pass muster with a Scotch stationer in a sieve full of ballads and godly *beuks*. He would not serve for the breast-plate of a begging Grecian. The most cramped compendium that the age hath seen since all learning was torn into ends, outstrips him by the head. I have heard of

puppets that could prattle in a play, but never saw of their writings before. There goes a report of the Holland women, that, together with their children, they are delivered of a sooterkin, not unlike to a rat, which some imagine to be the offspring of the stoves. I know not what *ignis fatuus* adulterates the press, but it seems much after that fashion, else how could this vermin think to be a twin to a legitimate writer? When those weekly fragments shall pass for history, let the poor man's box be entitled the exchequer, and the alms-basket a magazine. Not a worm that gnaws on the dull scalp of voluminous Hollinshed, but at every meal devoured more chronicle than his tribe amounts. A marginal note of William Prinne would serve for winding sheet for that man's works, like thick-skinned fruits are all rind, fit for nothing but the author's fate, to be pared in a pillory. * * *

Methinks the Turk should license Diurnals, because he prohibits learning and books. A library of Diurnals is a wardrobe of frippery; it is a just idea of the limbo of infants. I saw one once that could write with his toes; by the same token, I could have wished he had worn his copies for socks; it is he, without doubt, from whom the Diurnals derive their pedigree, and they have a birth-right accordingly, being shuffled out at the bed's-feet of History. To what infinite numbers an historian would multiply, should he crumble into elves of this profession! *Le-*

gloned Pynne, whose flesh bred such a world of executors, as being made of the roe of a herring, of nothing else but compacted nits, did not disband his body in more variety. To supply this smallness, they are fain to join forces, so they are not singly, but as the custom is, in a croaking committee; they tug at the pen, like slaves at the oar, a whole bank together; they write in the posture the Swedes give fire in, over one anothers' heads. It is said there is more of them go to a suit of clothes, than to Britanicus. In this polygamy the clothes breed, and cannot tell whose issue is lawfully begotten. * * * *

But I must draw to an end, for every character is an anatomy lecture; and it fares with me in this of the Diurnal-maker, as with him that reads on a begged malefactor; my subject smells before I have gone half through him: for a parting blow then, the word historian imports a sage and solemn author, one that curls his brow with a sullen gravity, like a bull-necked presbyter, since the army hath got off his jurisdiction, who, presbyter-like, sweeps his breast with a reverend beard, full of native moss-troopers. Not such a squirting scribe as this that is troubled with the rickets, and makes pennyworths of history. The college treasury, that never had in bank above a Harry groat, shut up there in a melancholy solitude, like one that is kept to keep possession, had as good evidence to shew for his title, as he for an historian;

so if he needs will be an historian, he is not cited in the sterling acceptation, but after the rate of blue caps reckoning an historian Scot. Now a Scotchman's tongue runs high *Fullames;* there is a cheat in his idiom; for the sense ebbs from the bold expression, like the citizen's gallon, which the drawer interprets but half a pint. In sum, a Diurnal-maker is the anti-mark of an historian; he differs from him as a drill from a man, (or if you had rather have it in the saints' gibberish) as a *hinter* doth from a *holder-forth.*

COWLEY,

THE poet, was born in Fleet-street, London, in 1618. His father was a grocer; after whose death he was admitted a king's scholar in Westminster School. His decided taste for poetry was called forth by his accidentally reading, at a very early age, Spenser's "Faery Queen," which lay in the window of his mother's apartment. From Westminster he was removed to Trinity College, Cambridge, of which he was elected scholar in 1636.

Having taken his degrees in arts, he was ejected by the parliament, on account of his loyalty, from Cambridge, when he sheltered himself at St. John's College, Oxford.

From his attachment to the royal cause, too, he obtained an introduction at court, attended the king in several of his journeys and expedi-

tions, and became acquainted with many of the celebrated men of his time, particularly lord Falkland, then one of the principal secretaries of state.

During the heat of the civil war, he was settled in the family of the earl of St. Albans, and accompanied the queen mother, when she was forced to retire into France, and was absent from his country ten years. In 1656, he returned to England, was soon after seized by the usurpers, and obtained his liberty only on the hard terms of a thousand pounds bail.

After the restoration, through the interest of the duke of Buckingham and the earl of St. Albans, a competent estate was bestowed upon him, and he retired to Chertsey, on the banks of the Thames, to pass the remainder of his life in studious retirement. Here also he died in 1667, in the forty-ninth year of his age.

The prose works of Cowley are not numerous; in the whole they occupy not more than about sixty pages, small-sized folio; and even these are interspersed with occasional pieces of poetry, with a few translations of Latin authors, suggested by the subjects on which he was writing. The following is a list of their titles.

1. A Proposition for the Advancement of Experimental Philosophy.

2. A Discourse, by way of Vision, concerning the Government of Oliver Cromwell.

Several Discourses, by way of Essays, in Verse and Prose.

1. Of Liberty.
2. Of Solitude.
3. Of Obscurity.
4. Of Agriculture.
5. The Garden. To J. Evelyn, Esq.
6. Of Greatness,
7. Of Avarice.
8. The Dangers of an Honest Man in much Company.
9. The Shortness of Life, and Uncertainty of Riches.
10. The Danger of Procrastination. A Letter to Mr. S. L.
11. Of Myself.

The last is by far the most interesting; it is very simply and beautifully written.

Of Myself.

It is a hard and nice subject for a man to write of himself; it grates his own heart to say any thing of disparagement, and the reader's ears to hear any

thing of praise from him. There is no danger from me of offending him in this kind; neither my mind, nor my body, nor my fortune, allow me any materials for that vanity. It is sufficient, for my own contentment, that they have preserved me from being scandalous, or remarkable on the defective side. But, besides that, I shall here speak of myself only in relation to the subject of these precedent discourses, and shall be likelier thereby to fall into the contempt, than rise up to the estimation of most people. As far as my memory can return back into my past life, before I knew, or was capable of guessing, what the world, or glories, or business of it were, the natural affections of my soul gave a secret bent of aversion from them, as some plants are said to turn away from others, by an antipathy imperceptible to themselves, and inscrutable to man's understanding. Even when I was a very young boy at school, instead of running about on holidays, and playing with my fellows, I was wont to steal from them, and walk into the fields, either alone with a book, or with some one companion, if I could find any of the same temper. I was then, too, so much an enemy to constraint, that my masters could never prevail on me, by any persuasions or encouragements, to learn, without book, the common rules of grammar, in which they dispensed with me alone, because they found I made a shift to do the usual exercise out of my own reading

and observation. That I was then of the same mind as I am now, (which I confess I wonder at myself) may appear at the latter end of an ode, which I made when I was but thirteen years old, and which was then printed, with many other verses. The beginning of it is boyish; but of this part which I here set down (if a very little were corrected), I should hardly now be much ashamed.

9.

This only grant me, that my means may lie
Too low for envy, for contempt too high,
Some honour I would have,
Not from great deeds, but good alone;
Th' unknown are better than ill known.
Rumour can ope' the grave:
Acquaintance I would have; but when't depends
Not on the number, but the choice of friends.

10.

Books should, not business, entertain the light,
And sleep, as undisturb'd as death, the night,
My house a cottage, more
Than palace, and should fitting be
For all my use, no luxury.
My garden painted o'er
With Nature's hand, not Art's; and pleasures yield,
Horace might envy in his Sabine field.

11.

Thus would I double my life's fading space,
For he that runs it well, twice runs his race.
And in this true delight,
These unbought sports, that happy state,
I would not fear nor wish my fate,
But boldly say each night,
To-morrow let my sun his beams display,
Or in clouds hide them; I have liv'd to-day.

You may see by it I was even then acquainted with the poets (for the conclusion is taken out of Horace); and perhaps it was the immature and immoderate love of them, which stamped first, or rather engraved, the characters in me. They were like letters cut in the bark of a young tree, which, with the tree, still grow proportionably. But, how this love came to be produced in me so early, is a hard question: I believe I can tell the particular little chance that filled my head first with such chimes of verse, as have never since left ringing there: for I remember when I began to read, and take some pleasure in it, there was wont to lie in my mother's parlour, (I know not by what accident, for she herself never in her life read any book but of devotion;) but there was wont to lie Spencer's Works; this I happened to fall upon, and was infinitely delighted with the stories of the knights, and giants, and monsters, and brave houses,

which I found every where there: (though my understanding had little to do with all this) and by degrees, with the tinkling of the rhyme, and dance of the numbers, so that I think I had read him all over before I was twelve years old, and was thus made a poet as immediately as a child is made an eunuch. With these affections of mind, and my heart wholly set upon letters, I went to the university; but was soon torn from thence by that public violent storm, which would suffer nothing to stand where it did, but rooted up every plant, even from the princely cedars, to me, the hyssop. Yet I had as good fortune as could have befallen me in such a tempest; for I was cast by it into the family of one of the best persons, and into the court of one of the best princesses in the world. Now, though I was here engaged in ways most contrary to the original design of my life; that is, into much company, and no small business, and into a daily sight of greatness, both militant and triumphant, (for that was the state then of the English and the French courts; yet all this was so far from altering my opinion, that it only added the confirmation of reason to that which was before but natural inclination. I saw plainly all the paint of that kind of life, the nearer I came to it; and that beauty which I did not fall in love with, when, for aught I knew, it was real, was not like to bewitch, or intice me, when I saw it was adulterate. I met with several great

persons, whom I liked very well; but could not perceive that any part of their greatness was to be liked or desired, no more than I would be glad or content to be in a storm, though I saw many ships which rid safely and bravely in it. A storm would not agree with my stomach, if it did with my courage; though I was in a crowd of as good company as could be found any where, though I was in business of great and honourable trust, though I eat at the best table, and enjoyed the best conveniences for present subsistence that ought to be desired by a man of my condition, in banishment and public distresses; yet I could not abstain from renewing my old school-boy's wish, in a copy of verses to the same effect:

> Well then; I now do plainly see,
> This busy world and I shall ne'er agree, &c.

And I never then proposed to myself any other advantage from his majesty's happy restoration, but the getting into some moderately convenient retreat in the country, which I thought in that case I might easily have compassed, as well as some others, who, with no greater probabilities or pretences, have arrived to extraordinary fortunes. But I had before written a shrewd prophecy against myself, and I think Apollo inspired me in the truth, though not in the elegance of it:

Thou neither great at Court, nor in the War,
Nor at the Exchange shalt be, nor at the wrangling bar;
Content thyself with the small barren praise,
Which neglected verse does raise, &c.

However, by the failing of the forces which I had expected, I did not quit the design which I had resolved on; I cast myself into it a *corpus perdi*, without making capitulations, or taking counsel of fortune. But God laughs at man, who says to his soul, Take thy ease: I met presently not only with many little incumbrances and impediments, but with so much sickness, (a new misfortune to me) as would have spoiled the happiness of an emperor, as well as mine. Yet I do neither repent nor alter my course; *Non ego perfidum dixi sacramentum.* Nothing shall separate me from a mistress which I have loved so long, and have now at last married; though she neither has brought me a rich portion, nor lived yet so quietly with me as I hoped from her.

—— *Nec vos dulcissima mundi*
Nomina vos Musæ, Libertas, Otia, Libri,
Hortique, Sylvæque, animâ remanente relinquam.

——Nor by me e'er shall you,
You of all names the sweetest and the best,
You Muses, Books, and Liberty, and Rest;
You Gardens, Fields, and Woods forsaken be,
As long as life itself forsakes not me.

Dr. Johnson's character of his prose style merits quotation: "No author (says he) ever kept his verse and prose at a greater distance from each other. His thoughts are natural, and his style has a smooth and placid equability, which has never yet obtained its due commendation. Nothing is far-sought, or hard-laboured, but all is easy without feebleness, and familiar without grossness."

SIDNEY (ALGERNON,)

Was the second surviving son of Robert, earl of Leicester, by his wife Dorothy, eldest daughter of Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland. He was born about the year 1621-2. His father, when ambassador successively to the courts of Denmark and France, took young Sidney with him, though a mere youth, to give him every opportunity of improvement.

On the breaking out of the rebellion in Ireland, 1641, he obtained a commission for a troop of horse in his father's regiment, who was then lord lieutenant of Ireland; and in 1643, had the king's permission to return to England with his brother, the lord Lisle, but with express orders, on their allegiance, to repair to his majesty at Oxford. The parliament, how-

ever, getting intelligence of this arrangement, caused them to be taken into custody on their landing in Lancashire. The king suspecting this to be a concerted scheme, was greatly incensed; from which they took occasion to join the parliament, under which Algernon accepted a command. This was at first a captaincy of a troop of horse in the regiment of the earl of Manchester. On the following year, Fairfax, the commander in chief, made him colonel of a regiment of horse. His other appointments and services it is unnecessary to mention. He was nominated one of the judges of Charles I. though he did not appear.

Algernon Sidney was a republican upon principle; and when Oliver Cromwell had usurped the government, he refused to act under him or his son who succeeded him in the protectorship; but as soon as the long parliament was restored, he became one of the council of state. On the restoration of Charles II. he was abroad, with others, with a view to mediate a peace between Denmark and Sweden; and as his principles were decided and well known, he could not with safety return to his own country. He employed himself therefore in moving about from one part of Europe

to another; but the Argus-eyes of the English government were upon him, and it is said, that a plan was laid to assassinate him at Augsburg, and which he escaped only by being at the time in Holland. Thus he continued during seventeen years, sometimes in danger of his life, wandering from place to place in indigence, because (says he) it was known I could not be corrupted. But at length his father, the earl of Leicester, was anxious to see him before his death, and the son obtained leave of Charles II. to return, as also his pardon. But associating afterwards with the duke of Monmouth, he was considered as one of the accomplices in the presbyterian plot, was arrested for high treason, and sent to the Tower. Being arraigned to the bar of the court of King's Bench, the only admissible evidence against him was lord Howard of Esrick, a man of an abandoned character, "whose deposition was very rhetorical, and nothing at all to the purpose." In aid therefore of this lame evidence, his Discourses on Government were produced, and affirmed to be "A Seditious and Traitorous Libel;" their design being "to persuade the people of England, that it is lawful, nay, that they have a right to set

aside their prince, in case it appear to them that he hath broken the trust laid upon him by the people." Upon this plea (for it is blasphemy to reason to call it evidence) he was convicted of high treason, and beheaded on the 7th of December, 1683. His attainder, however, was reversed at the revolution. Sidney had proposed to himself Marcus Brutus as a pattern, and met death with dauntless fortitude.

At his execution he delivered a paper to the sheriffs, containing a statement of the injustice of his sentence. It began—"Men, brethren, and fathers; friends, countrymen, and strangers."—And after displaying the hardship of his case, and the insufficiency of the evidence against him, he concluded in these words:—"But I was long since told that I must die, or the plot must die. Lest the means of destroying the best protestants in England should fail, the bench must be filled with such as had been blemishes to the bar. None but such as these would have advised with the king's council of the means of bringing a man to death; suffered a jury to be packed by the king's solicitors and the undersheriff; admit of jurymen, who are not free-

holders; receive such evidence as is above-mentioned; refuse a copy of an indictment, or to suffer the statute of 46 Edward III. to be read, that doth expressly enact, it should in no case be denied unto any man upon any occasion whatsoever; over-rule the most important points of law, without hearing. And whereas the statute 25 Edward III. upon which they said I should be tried, doth reserve unto the parliament all constructions to be made in points of treason, they could assume unto themselves not only a power to make constructions, but such constructions as neither agree with law, reason, or common sense. By these means I am brought to this place. The Lord forgive these practices, and avert the evils that threaten the nation from them. The Lord sanctify these my sufferings unto me; and though I fall as a sacrifice unto idols, suffer not idolatry to be established in this land. Bless thy people and save them. Defend thy own cause, and defend those that defend it. Stir up such as are faint; direct those that are willing; confirm those that waver; give wisdom and integrity unto all. Order all things so as may most redound unto thine own glory. Grant that I may die glorifying thee for all thy mer-

cies, and that at the last thou hast permitted me to be singled out as a witness of thy truth; and even by the confession of my opposers, for that 'Old Cause,' in which I was from my youth engaged, and for which thou hast often and wonderfully declared thyself."

Sidney suspecting that the sheriffs might suppress it, took the precaution of giving a copy of it to a friend. And it being understood that written copies were dispersed, it was printed; though not till a fortnight after the execution.

No work of Algernon Sidney is now extant, but his "Discourses concerning Government," and some letters to Henry Saville, esq. though he says himself that he "believed he had burned more papers of his own writing, than a horse could carry." There still remain however at Penshurst, in his own hand-writing, treatises in Latin and Italian; as also an Essay on Virtuous Love, in English. His "Discourses" were first published in 1698, folio, and reprinted in 1704. But a more beautiful edition appeared in 1751, to which are added, "Memoirs of his Life, and an Apology for himself, both now first published, and

the latter from his original MS. with an alphabetical Index of the principal Matters."

The title to the above Letters is "Letters of the Honourable Algernon Sidney, to the Honourable Henry Saville, Ambassador in France, in the year 1679, &c.; now first printed from the Originals in Mr. Sidney's own hand." London, 1742, 8vo.—They relate chiefly to the proceedings of parliament, and the popish plot. Several of his letters too are inserted in the Letters and Memorials of State of the Sidney Family, published by Arthur Collins, esq.

The Discourses concerning Government are divided into three chapters, which are again subdivided into sections. They were written in reply to a book of sir Robert Filmer on the subject of monarchy. The author begins:

Having lately seen a book, intitled "Patriarcha," written by sir Robert Filmer, concerning the universal and undistinguished right of all kings, I thought a time of leisure might be well employed in examining his doctrine, and the questions arising from it; which seem so far to concern all mankind, that, besides the influence upon our future life, they may be said to comprehend all that in this world deserves to be

cared for. If he say true, there is but one government in the world that can have any thing of justice in it: and those who have hitherto been esteemed the best and wisest of men, for having constituted commonwealths or kingdoms, and taken much pains so to proportion the powers of several magistracies, that they might all concur in procuring the public good, or so to divide the powers between the magistrates and people, that a well regulated harmony might be preserved in the whole, were the most unjust and foolish of all men. They were not builders, but overthrowers of governments: their business was to set up aristoeratical, democratical, or mixed governments, in opposition to that monarchy which, by the immutable laws of God and nature, is imposed upon mankind; or presumptuously to put shackles upon the monarch, who, by the same laws, is to be absolute and uncontrouled: they were rebellious and disobedient sons, who rose up against their father; and not only refused to hearken to his voice, but made him bend to their will. In their opinion, such only deserved to be called good men, who endeavoured to be good to mankind, or to that country to which they were more particularly related: and inasmuch as that good consists in a felicity of estate, and perfection of person, they highly valued such as had endeavoured to make men better, wiser, and happier. This they understood to be the end for which

men entered into societies: and though Cicero says, that commonwealths were instituted for the obtaining of justice, he contradicts them not, but comprehends all in that word; because it is just, that whosoever receives a power, should employ it wholly for the accomplishment of the ends for which it was given. This work could be performed only by such as excelled in virtue: but lest they should deflect from it, no government was thought to be well constituted, unless the laws prevailed above the commands of men; and they were accounted as the worst of beasts, who did not prefer such a condition before a subjection to the fluctuating and irregular will of a man. * * * *

In the first lines of his book he seems to denounce war against mankind, endeavouring to overthrow the principle of liberty in which God created us, and which includes the chief advantages of the life we enjoy, as well as the greatest helps towards the felicity that is the end of our hopes in the other. To this end he absurdly imputes to the school divines that which was taken up by them as a common notion, written in the heart of every man, denied by none but such as were degenerated into beasts, from whence they might prove such points as of themselves were less evident. * * *

Though the schoolmen were corrupt, they were neither stupid nor unlearned; they could not but see

that which all men saw, nor lay more approved foundations, than that man is naturally free; that he cannot justly be deprived of that liberty without cause; and that he doth not resign it, or any part of it, unless it be in consideration of a greater good, which he proposes to himself. * * * *

The error of not observing this may perhaps deserve to be pardoned in a man that had read no books, as proceeding from ignorance; if such as are grossly ignorant can be excused, when they take upon them to write of such matters as require the highest knowledge. But in sir Robert it is prevarication and fraud, to impute to schoolmen and puritans that which in his first page he acknowledged to be the doctrine of all reformed and unreformed christian churches, and that he knows to have been the principle in which the Grecians, Italians, Spaniards, Gauls, Germans, and Britons, and all other generous nations ever lived, before the name of Christ was known in the world; insomuch that the base effeminate Asiatics and Africans, for being careless of their liberty, or unable to govern themselves, were by Aristotle and other wise men called "Slaves by Nature," and looked upon as little different from beasts. * * * *

Such as have reason, understanding, or common sense, will and ought to make use of it in those things that concern themselves and their posterity,

and suspect the words of such as are interested in deceiving, or persuading them not to see with their own eyes, that they may be more easily deceived. This rule obliges us so far to search into matters of state, as to examine the original principles of government in general, and of our own in particular. We cannot distinguish truth from falsehood, right from wrong, or know what obedience we owe to the magistrate, or what we may justly expect from him, unless we know what he is, why he is, and by whom he is made to be what he is. These perhaps may be called "Mysteries of State," and some would persuade us they are to be esteemed "Arcana;" but whosoever confesses himself to be ignorant of them, must acknowledge that he is incapable of giving any judgment upon things relating to the superstructure; and in so doing evidently shews to others, that they ought not at all to hearken to what he says. * * * * * *

As liberty solely consists in an independency upon the will of another, and by the name of slave, we understand a man who can neither dispose of his person nor goods, but enjoys all at the will of his master; there is no such thing in nature as a slave, if those men or nations are not slaves, who have no other title to what they enjoy, than the grace of the prince, which he may revoke whensoever he pleaseth. * * It has been hitherto believed in the world,

that the Assyrians, Medes, Arabs, Egyptians, Turks, and others like them, lived in slavery, because their princes were masters of their lives and goods: whereas the Grecians, Italians, Gauls, Germans, Spaniards, and Carthaginians, as long as they had any strength, virtue, or courage amongst them, were esteemed free nations, because they abhorred such a subjection. They were, and would be governed only by laws of their own making: *Potentiora erant legum quam hominum imperia.* * * * *

Such as enter into society must, in some degree, diminish their liberty. Reason leads them to this. No one man or family is able to provide that which is requisite for their convenience or security, whilst every one has an equal right to every thing, and none acknowledges a superior to determine the controversies that upon such occasions must continually arise, and will probably be so many and great, that mankind cannot bear them. Therefore, though I do not believe that Bellarmine said, a commonwealth could not exercise its power; for he could not be ignorant, that Rome and Athens did exercise theirs, and that all the regular kingdoms in the world are commonwealths; yet there is nothing of absurdity in saying, that man cannot continue in the perpetual and entire fruition of the liberty that God hath given him. The liberty of one is thwarted by that of another; and whilst they are all equal, none will yield

to any, otherwise than by a general consent. This is the ground of all just governments; for violence or fraud can create no right; and the same consent gives the form to them all, how much soever they differ from each other. Some small numbers of men, living within the precincts of one city, have, as it were, cast into a common stock the right which they had of governing themselves and children, and by common consent joining in one body, exercised such power over every single person as seemed beneficial to the whole; and this men call Perfect Democracy. Others chose rather to be governed by a select number of such as most excelled in wisdom and virtue; and this, according to the signification of the word, was called Aristocracy; or when one man excelled all others, the government was put into his hands, under the name of Monarchy. But the wisest, best, and far the greatest part of mankind, rejecting these simple species, did form governments mixed or composed of the three, as shall be proved hereafter, which commonly received their respective denomination from the part that prevailed, and did deserve praise or blame, as they were well or ill proportioned.

It were a folly hereupon to say, that the liberty for which we contend, is of no use to us, since we cannot endure the solitude, barbarity, weakness, want, misery, and dangers, that accompany it whilst we

live alone, nor can enter into a society without resigning it; for the choice of that society, and the liberty of framing it according to our own wills, for our own good, is all we seek. This remains to us whilst we form governments, that we ourselves are judges how far it is good for us to recede from our natural liberty; which is of so great importance, that from thence only we can know whether we are freemen or slaves; and the difference between the best government and the worst, doth wholly depend on a right or wrong exercise of that power. If men are naturally free, such as have wisdom and understanding will always frame good governments: but if they are born under the necessity of a perpetual slavery, no wisdom can be of use to them; but all must for ever depend on the will of their lords, how cruel, mad, proud, or wicked soever they be. * * *

The Grecians, amongst others who followed the light of reason, knew no other original title to the government of a nation, than that wisdom, valour, and justice, which was beneficial to the people. These qualities gave beginning to those governments which we call *Heroum Regna;* and the veneration paid to such as enjoyed them, proceeded from a grateful sense of the good received from them: they were thought to be descended from the gods, who in virtue and beneficence surpassed other men: the same attended their descendants, till they came to abuse

their power, and by their vices shewed themselves like to, or worse than others, who could best perform their duty. The Spartans knew that Hercules and Achilles were not their fathers; for they were a nation before either of them were born; but thinking their children might be like to them in valour, they brought them from Thebes and Epirus to be their kings. If our author is of another opinion, I desire to know, whether the Heraclidæ or the Æacidæ were, or ought to be, reputed fathers of the Lacedæmonians; for if the one was, the other was not.

The same method was followed in Italy, and they who esteemed themselves Aborigines—

> *Qui rupto robore nati,*
> *Compositive luto, nullos habuere parentes.*
>
> JUVEN. Sat. vi. l. 13.

could not set up one to govern them, under the title of parent. They could pay no veneration to any man, under the name of a common father, who thought they had none; and they who esteemed themselves equal, could have no reason to prefer any one, unless he were distinguished from others by the virtues that were beneficial to all. * *

Upon the same grounds we may conclude, that no privilege is peculiarly annexed to any form of government; but that all magistrates are equally the

ministers of God, who perform the work for which they are instituted; and that the people which institutes them, may proportion, regulate, and terminate their power, as to time, measure, and number of persons, as seems most convenient to themselves, which can be no other than their own good. For it cannot be imagined that a multitude of people should send for Numa, or any other person to whom they owed nothing, to reign over them, that he might live in glory and pleasure; or for any other reason, than that it might be good for them and their posterity. This shews the work of all magistrates to be always and every where the same, even the doing of justice, and procuring the welfare of those that create them. This we learn from common sense: Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, and the best human authors, lay it as an immovable foundation, upon which they build their arguments relating to matters of that nature.

The foregoing passages have been taken from several of the different sections of the first book, in such order as to exhibit a connected series. The following passage is from the first section of the second chapter.

The weakness in which we are born, renders us unable to attain the good of ourselves: we want help in all things, especially in the greatest. The fierce

barbarity of a loose multitude, bound by no law, and regulated by no discipline, is wholly repugnant to it: whilst every man fears his neighbour, and has no other defence than his own strength, he must live in that perpetual anxiety, which is equally contrary to that happiness, and that sedate temper of mind, which is required for the search of it. The first step towards the cure of this pestilent evil, is for many to join in one body, that every one may be protected by the united force of all; and the various talents that men possess, may by good discipline be rendered useful to the whole; as the meanest piece of wood or stone, being placed by a wise architect, conduces to the beauty of the most glorious building. But every man bearing in his own breast affections, passions, and vices, that are repugnant to this end, and no man owing any submission to his neighbour; none will subject the correction or restriction of themselves to another, unless he also submit to the same rule. They are rough pieces of timber or stone, which it is necessary to cleave, saw, or cut: this is the work of a skilful builder, and he only is capable of erecting a great fabric, who is so. Magistrates are political architects; and they only can perform the work incumbent on them, who excel in political virtues. Nature, in variously framing the minds of men, according to the variety of uses in which they may be employed in order to the institution and pre-

servation of civil societies, must be our guide, in allotting to every one his proper work. And Plato, observing this variety affirms, "That the laws of nature cannot be more absurdly violated, than by giving the government of a people to such as do not excel others in those arts and virtues that tend to the ultimate ends for which governments are instituted." By this means those who are slaves by nature, or rendered so by their vices, are often set above those that God and nature had fitted for the highest commands; and societies which subsist only by order, fall into corruption, when all order is so preposterously inverted, and the most extreme confusion introduced. This is an evil that Solomon detested: "Folly is set in great dignity, and the rich sit in low places; I have seen servants upon horses, and princes walking as servants upon the earth." They who understand Solomon's language, will easily see, that the rich, and the princes he means, are such only who are rich in virtue and wisdom, and who ought to be preferred for those qualities: and when he says, a servant that reigneth is one of the three things the earth cannot bear, he can only mean such as deserve to be servants, for when they reign they do not serve, but are served by others; which perfectly agrees with what we learn from Plato, and plainly shews that true philosophy is perfectly conformable with what is taught us by those who were

divinely inspired. Therefore, though I should allow to our author, that Aristotle in those words "It seems to some, not to be natural for one man to be lord of all the citizens, since the city consists of equals," did speak the opinion of others rather than his own; and should confess, that he and his master Plato, did acknowledge a natural inequality among men; it would be nothing to his purpose: for the inequality, and the rational superiority due to some, or to one, by reason of that inequality, did not proceed from blood or extraction, and had nothing patriarchical in it; but consisted solely in the virtues of the persons, by which they were rendered more able than others to perform their duty, for the good of the society. Therefore, if these authors are to be trusted, whatsoever place a man is advanced to in a city, it is not for his own sake, but for that of the city; and we are not to ask, who was his father, but what are his virtues in relation to it. This induces a necessity of distinguishing between a simple and a relative inequality; for if it were possible for a man to have great virtues, and yet no way beneficial to the society of which he is, or to have some one vice that renders them useless, he could have no pretence to a magistratical power more than any other. They who are equally free, may equally enjoy their freedom; but the powers that can only be executed by such as are endowed with great wisdom, justice, and

valour, can belong to none, nor be rightly conferred upon any, except such as excel in those virtues. And if no such can be found, all are equally by turns to participate of the honours annexed to magistracy; and law, which is said to be written reason, cannot justly exalt those whom nature, which is reason, hath depressed, nor depress those whom nature hath exalted. It cannot make kings slaves, nor slaves kings, without introducing that evil which, if we believe Solomon and the spirit by which he spake, "the earth cannot bear." This may discover what lawgivers deserve to be reputed wise or just; and what decrees or sanctions ought to be reputed laws. Aristotle, proceeding by this rule, rather tells us, who is naturally a king, than where we should find him; and after having given the highest praises to this true natural king and his government, he sticks not to declare that of one man, in virtue equal or inferior to others, to be a mere tyranny, even the worst of all, as it is the corruption of the best, (or, as our author calls it, the most divine) and such as can be fit only for those barbarous and stupid nations, which, though bearing the shape of men, are little different from beasts. Whoever therefore will from Aristotle's words infer, that nature has designed one man, or succession of men, to be lords of every country, must shew that man to be endowed with all the virtues that render him fit for so great an office,

which he does not bear for his own pleasure, glory, or profit, but for the good of those that are under him; and if that be not done, he must look after other patrons than Aristotle for his opinion.

Though my extracts from this author have been already carried to a considerable extent, I shall venture to give one passage more, which is admirable for its eloquence, as well as for its justness of sentiment. It is taken from the 28th section of the second chapter; of which the title is, "Men living under Popular or Mixed Governments, are more careful of the Public Good, than in Absolute Monarchies."

Men are valiant and industrious when they fight for themselves and their country; they prove excellent in all the arts of war and peace, when they are bred up in virtuous exercises, and taught by their fathers and masters to rejoice in the honours gained by them: they love their country when the good of every particular man is comprehended in the public prosperity, and the success of their atchievements is improved to the general advantage: they undertake hazards and labour for the government, when it is justly administered; when innocence is safe, and virtue honoured; when no man is distinguished from the vulgar, but such as have distinguished themselves

by the bravery of their actions; when no honour is thought too great for those who do it eminently, unless it be such as cannot be communicated to others of equal merit: they do not spare their persons, purses, or friends, when the public powers are employed for the public benefit, and imprint the like affections in their children from their infancy. The discipline of obedience, in which the Romans were bred, taught them to command: and few were admitted to the magistracies of inferior rank, till they had given such proof of their virtue as might deserve the supreme. Cincinnatus, Camillus, Papirius, Mamarcus, Fabius Maximus, were not made dictators that they might learn the duties of the office, but because they were judged to be of such wisdom, valour, integrity, and experience, that they might be safely trusted with the highest powers; and, whilst the law reigned, not one was advanced to that honour, who did not fully answer what was expected from him. By this means the city was so replenished with men fit for the greatest employments, that even in its infancy, when three hundred and six of the Fabii, *Quorum neminem*, says Livy, *ducem sperneret quibuslibet temporibus senatus*, were killed in one day, the city did lament the loss, but was not so weakened to give any advantage to their enemies: and when every one of those who had been eminent before the second Punic war, Fabius Maximus only

excepted, had perished in it, others arose in their places, who surpassed them in number, and were equal to them in virtue. The city was a perpetual spring of such men, as long as liberty lasted; but that was no sooner overthrown, than virtue was torn up by the roots; the people became base and sordid; the small remains of the nobility slothful and effeminate; and their Italian associates becoming like to them, the empire, whilst it stood, was only sustained by the strength of foreigners.

The Grecian virtue had the same fate, and expired with liberty: instead of such soldiers as in their time had no equals, and such generals of armies and fleets, legislators and governors, as all succeeding ages have justly admired, they sent out swarms of fidlers, jesters, chariot-drivers, players, bawds, flatterers, ministers of the most impure lusts; or idle, babbling, hypocritical philosophers, not much better than they. The emperors' courts were always crouded with this vermin; and notwithstanding the necessity our author imagines, that princes must needs understand matters of government better than magistrates annually chosen, they did for the most part prove so brutish as to give themselves and the world to be governed by such as these, and that without any great prejudice, since none could be found more ignorant, lewd, and base, than themselves.

It is absurd to impute this to the change of times;

for time changes nothing; and nothing was changed in those times, but the government, and that changed all things. This is not accidental, but according to the rules given to nature by God, imposing upon all things a necessity of perpetually following their causes. Fruits are always of the same nature with the seeds and roots from which they come, and trees are known by the fruits they bear; as a man begets a man, and a beast a beast, that society of men which constitutes a government upon the foundation of justice, virtue, and the common good, will always have men to promote those ends; and that which intends the advancement of one man's desires and vanity, will abound in those that will foment them. All men follow that which seems advantageous to themselves. Such as are bred under a good discipline, and see that all benefits, procured to their country by virtuous actions, redound to the honour and advantage of themselves, their children, friends, and relations, contract, from their infancy, a love to the public, and look upon the common concernments as their own. When they have learnt to be virtuous, and see that virtue is in esteem, they seek no other preferments than such as may be obtained that way; and no country ever wanted great numbers of excellent men, where this method was established. On the other side, when it is evident that the best are despised, hated, or marked out for destruction;

all things calculated to the honour or advantage of one man, who is often the worst, or governed by the worst; honours, riches, commands, and dignities disposed by his will, and his favour gained only by a most obsequious respect, or a pretended affection to his person, together with a servile obedience to his commands—all application to virtuous actions will cease; and no man caring to render himself or his children worthy of great employments, such as desire to have them will, by little intrigues, corruption, scurrility, and flattery, endeavour to make way to them; by which means true merit in a short time comes to be abolished, as fell out in Rome as soon as the Cæsars began to reign.

As a writer, the following high character is given of him by the earl of Orrery:—"Harrington has his admirers; he may possibly have his merits, but they flow not in his style. A later writer, of the same republican principles, has far excelled him; I mean Algernon Sidney, whose Discourses concerning Government are admirably written, and contain great historical knowledge, and a remarkable propriety of diction; so that his name, in my opinion, ought to be much higher established in

the temple of literature than I have hitherto found it placed."

His character as a man is thus drawn by bishop Burnet.—He was "a man of most extraordinary courage; a steady man even to obstinacy; sincere, but of a rough and boisterous temper, that could not bear contradiction. He seemed to be a christian, but in a particular form of his own. He thought it was to be like a divine philosophy in the mind; but he was against all public worship, and every thing that looked like a church. He was stiff to all republican principles; and such an enemy to every thing that looked like a monarchy, that he set himself in a high opposition against Cromwell, when he was made protector. He had studied the history of government in all its branches beyond any man I ever knew. He had a particular way of insinuating himself into people that would hearken to his notions and not contradict him."

Charles II.

CHARLES II.

THE character of much of the literature of this reign was considerably influenced by that of the sovereign, and by political events. The tumults of the preceding reign had subsided; and though many were still dissatisfied, the general joy and security induced by the restoration, disposed a large majority to settle into that tranquillity and good humour favourable to literary pursuits. The temper of Charles was cheerful, and inclined to pleasure; and the wit and humour which distinguished his voluptuous court, contributed to dilute and mollify the sourness of fanaticism, and the rage of faction.

The ardour for philosophical pursuits kindled by Bacon, shone forth with great lustre in the respected names of Boyle and Barrow. Theology became more calm and more rational; and South and Tillotson may be ranked,

in point of style, among the best writers in the language.

The stage of this period can boast the name of Dryden; who is not only conspicuous as a dramatic writer, but as having been the first to fix the laws of the English drama. A new species of comedy commenced in this reign, which, laying aside the verse of the old drama, reduced it at once to a point of degradation, from which no attempt in diction has been made to recover it, till the time of John Tobin.

I should have noticed perhaps in the preceding reign, that the French Romances, as they are called, made their appearance about the year 1650. Calprenades, Cassandra; Cleopatra and Pharamond; the Clelia and Grand Cyrus of Madame Scudery; and the Ibrahim and Almahedi of her brother; (the Astrea of D'Urfe is of a different character, partaking more of the pastoral romance;) upon this detestable model is Parthenissa, by the earl of Orrery.

Novels began also with short stories of intrigue, by Mrs. Behn*. The conversational

These, under the title of histories and novels, were published in two volumes 12mo. Lond. 1735, 8th edit. with the life of the authoress prefixed.

style of writing too, was introduced by sir Roger L'Estrange; in which he was followed by Tom Brown; and all the slang and barbarism of colloquial life made their appearance in print.

The general literary character of this period is well delineated by Dr. Isaac Barrow. "All reputation (says he,) appears now to vail and stoop to that of being a wit. To be learned, to be wise, to be good, are nothing in comparison thereto; even to be noble and rich are inferior things, and afford no such glory. Many at least, (to purchase this glory, to be deemed considerable in this faculty, and enrolled among the wits,) do not only make shipwreck of conscience, abandon virtue, and forfeit all pretences to wisdom; but neglect their estates and prostitute their honour: so to the private damage of many particular persons, and with no small prejudice to the public, are our times possessed and transported with this humour."

QUARLES.

FRANCIS QUARLES, son of James Quarles, esq. clerk of the green cloth, and purveyor of the navy to queen Elizabeth, was born at Stewards near Romford in Essex, in 1592. He was educated at Christ's College, Cambridge, and at Lincoln's Inn. He was subsequently preferred to the office of cup-bearer to Elizabeth, daughter of king James I. electress palatine, and queen of Bohemia; though he quitted her service, probably on the ruin of her husband's affairs, and went over to Ireland, where he became secretary to the learned archbishop Usher. On the breaking out of the rebellion in Ireland in 1641, he was compelled to fly to England again for safety, where he repaired to Charles I. then at Oxford. This circumstance, together with the

publication of a piece, which he entitled, "The Loyal Convert," gave umbrage to the republican party, which ruined his fortunes. But the injury he most regretted was, the plunder of his books, and of some valued MSS. he had designed for the press; circumstances which are said to have accelerated his death, which happened in 1644.

In his day he was most known as a poet; though he was also the author of a few prose works, of which the principal is his

"Enchiridion—containing institutions:

Divine { Contemplative, Practical.

Moral { Ethical, Economical, Political. 1670"

The book is comprised in four centuries.

Century 1. *Chap.* 53.

If a kingdom be apt to rebellion, it is wisdom to preserve the nobility and commons at variance; where one of them is discontented, the danger is not great. The commons are slow of motion, if not quickened with the nobility; the nobility is weak of power, if not strengthened by the commons. There

is danger, when the commonalty trouble the water, and the nobility step in.

Chap. 55.

It is a perilous weakness in a state to be slow of resolution in the time of war. To be irresolute in determinations is both the sign and the ruin of a weak state. Such affairs attend not time. Let a wise statesman therefore abhor delay, and resolve rather what to do, than advise what to say. Slow deliberations are symptoms either of a faint courage, or weak forces, or false hearts.

Chap. 59.

It is dangerous for a prince to use ambitious natures, but upon necessity, either for his wars, or to be skreens for his dangers, or to be instruments for the demolishing insolent greatness. And that they may be the less dangerous, let him choose them rather out of mean births than noble; and out of harsh natures, rather than plausible. And always be sure to balance them with those that are as proud as they.

Chap. 61.

In a mixed monarchy, if the hierarchy grow too absolute, it is wisdom in a prince rather to redress it, than suppress it. All alterations in a fundamental government bring apparent dangers; but too sudden alteration threatens inevitable ruin. When Aaron made a molten calf, Moses altered not the government, but reproved the governor.

Chap. 62.

Before thou build a fortress, consider to what end. If for resistance against the enemy, it is useless. A valiant army is a living fortress. If for suppressing the subject, it is hurtful. It breeds jealousies, and jealousies beget hatred. If thou hast a strong army to maintain it, it adds nothing to thy strength. If thy army be weak, it conduces much to thy danger. The surest fortress is the hands of thy soldiers: and the safest citadel is the hearts of thy subjects.

Chap. 63.

It is a princely alchemy, out of a necessary war, to extract an honorable peace; and more beseeming

the majesty of a prince, to thirst after peace, than conquest. Blessedness is promised to the peace-maker; not to the conqueror. It is a happy state, whose prince hath a peaceful hand, and a martial heart, able both to use peace, and to manage war.

Chap. 66.

It is a great oversight in a prince, for any respects, either actively or passively, to make a foreign kingdom strong. He that gives means to another to become powerful, weakens himself, and enables him to take the advantage of his own weakness.

Chap. 67.

When the humours of the people are stirred by discontents, or popular grief, it is wisdom in a prince to give them moderate liberty to evaporate. He that turns the humour back too hastily, makes the wound bleed inwardly, and fills the body with malignity.

Chap. 75.

If thou be ambitious of honour, and yet fearful

of the canker of honour, envy, so behave thyself, that opinion may be satisfied in this, that thou seekest merit, and not fame: and that thou attributest thy preferment rather to providence, than thy own virtue. Honour is a due debt to the observer; and who ever envied the payment of a debt? A just advancement is a providential act; and who ever envied the act of providence?

Chap. 77.

Let states that aim at greatness, beware lest new gentry multiply too fast, or grow too glorious. Where there is too great a disproportion betwixt the gentry and the common subject, the one grows insolent, the other slavish. When the body of the gentry grows too glorious for a corslet, then the heads of the vulgar wax too heavy for the helmet.

Century 3. *Chap* 9.

Gaze not on beauty too much, lest it blast thee; nor too long, lest it blind thee; nor too near, lest it burn thee. If thou like it, it deceives thee; if thou love it, it disturbs thee; if thou lust after it, it

destroys thee. If virtue accompany it, it is the heart's paradise. If vice associate it, it is the soul's purgatory. It is the wise man's bonfire, and the fool's furnace.

These are a few specimens only of the great number of excellent maxims to be found in this little book. It well deserves to be reprinted.

WALTON.

Isaac Walton was born in 1593, at London, where he followed the trade of a sempster. But on account of the dangers of the times, and having probably acquired a decent competence, he retired in 1643 from business and from London; and afterwards lived sometimes at Stafford, but for the most part in the families of eminent clergymen, by whom he was much respected and beloved. He died in 1683, in his ninetieth year, exhibiting a striking proof how much calm pursuits, with a mind pure and at ease, contribute to prolong the period of human existence.

Walton is celebrated as a biographer, and particularly as an angler.

1. His first work was a Life of Dr. Donne,

dean of St. Paul's, undertaken at the request of sir Henry Wotton. It was published in 1640, prefixed to a collection of Donne's Sermons in folio.

2. On the death of sir Henry Wotton in 1639, Walton published a collection of his works, entitled *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*, with his life prefixed.

3. His next Life was that of the celebrated Hooker, which he undertook at the request of his friend Dr. Gilbert Sheldon, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury.

4. While under the roof of his friend and patron, Morley, bishop of Winchester, he wrote the Life of Mr. George Herbert. The above were collected and published in a small octavo volume, in 1675, with a dedication to Winchester.

5. In 1677, he published several pieces of Dr. Robert Sanderson, bishop of Lincoln, together with a sermon of Hooker, in an octavo volume, with a life of the bishop prefixed.

6. But the work by which he is probably most known, is, "The complete Angler, or Contemplative Man's Recreation;" published in 1653, 12mo, adorned with cuts of most of the fish mentioned in it. This is written in

the form of dialogue. The first is between an angler, a huntsman, and a falconer, of whom the latter thus speaks in praise of his favourite recreation.

And first for the element I used to trade in, which is the air, an element of more worth than weight, an element that doubtless exceeds both the earth and water: for though I sometimes deal in both, yet the air is most properly mine. I and my hawks use that, and it yields us most recreation. It stops not the high soaring of my noble, generous falcon. In it she ascends to such a height as the dull eyes of beasts and fish are not able to reach to; their bodies are too gross for such high elevations. In the air, my troops of hawks soar up on high, and when they are lost in the sight of men, then they attend upon and converse with the Gods. Therefore I think my eagle is so justly styled Jove's servant in ordinary; and that very falcon, that I am now going to see, deserves no meaner a title, for she usually in her flight endangers herself, like the son of Dædalus, to have her wings scorched by the sun's heat, she flies so near it. But her mettle makes her careless of danger; for then she heeds nothing, but makes her nimble pinions cut the fluid air, and so makes her highway over the steepest mountains and deepest rivers, and in her glorious career looks with con-

tempt upon those high steeples and magnificent palaces which we adore and wonder at; from which height I can make her to descend by a word from my mouth, which she both knows and obeys, to accept of meat from my hand, to own me for her master, to go home with me, and be willing the next day to afford me the like recreation. * * * *

Nay more, the very birds of the air, those that be not hawks, are both so many, and so useful and pleasant to mankind, that I must not let them pass without some observations. * * * * As first the lark, when she means to rejoice; to cheer herself and those that hear her, she then quits the earth, and sings as she ascends higher into the air; and having ended her heavenly employment, grows then mute and sad to think she must descend to the dull earth, which she would not touch but from necessity.

How do the blackbird and thrassel with their melodious voices bid welcome to the cheerful spring, and in their fixed months warble forth such ditties as no art or instrument can reach to!

Nay, the smaller birds also do the like in their particular seasons, as, namely, the leverock, the tit-lark, the little linnet, and the honest robin, that loves mankind both alive and dead.

But the nightingale, another of my airy creatures, breathes such sweet loud music, out of her little in-

strumental, that it may make mankind to think miracles are not ceased. He that at midnight, when the very labourer sleeps securely, should hear as I have, very often, the clear airs, the sweet descants, the natural rising and falling, the doubling and redoubling of her voice, might well be lifted above earth, and say, Lord, what music hast thou provided for the saints in heaven, when thou affordest bad men such music on earth! * * *

There is also a little contemptible winged creature, an inhabitant of my aerial element, namely, the laborious bee, of whose prudence, policy, and regular government of their own commonwealth, I might say much, as also of their several kinds, and how useful their honey and wax is, both for meat and medicines to mankind; but I will leave them to their sweet labour, without the least disturbance, believing them to be all very busy at this very time amongst the herbs and flowers that we see nature puts forth this May-morning.

Chap. or Dialogue 4th.—The Angler speaks.

Look, under that broad beech-tree, I sat down, when I was last this way a-fishing, and the birds in the adjoining groves seemed to have a friendly contention with an echo, whose dead voice seemed to live in a hollow tree, near to the brow of that

primrose hill; there I sat viewing the silver streams glide silently towards their centre, the tempestuous sea; yet sometimes opposed by rugged roots and pebble-stones, which broke their waves and turned them into foam: and sometimes I beguiled time by viewing the harmless lambs, some leaping securely in the cool shade, whilst others sported themselves in the cheerful sun; and saw others craving comfort from the swoln udders of their bleating dams. As I thus sat, these and other sights had so fully possessed my soul with content, that I thought, as the poet has happily expressed it:

> I was for that time lifted above earth;
> And possessed joys not promised in my birth.

As I left this place and entered into the next field, a second pleasure entertained me; 'twas a handsome milk-maid, that had not yet attained so much age and wisdom as to load her mind with any fears of many things that will never be, as too many men too often do; but she cast away all care, and sung like a nightingale; her voice was good, and the ditty fitted for it: it was that smooth song, which was made by Kit Marlow, now at least fifty years ago; and the milk-maid's mother sung an answer to it, which was made by sir Walter Raleigh, in his younger days.

They were old-fashioned poetry, but choicely good; I think much better than the strong lines that are

now in fashion in this critical age. Look yonder! on my word, yonder they both be a-milking again. I will give her the chub, and persuade them to sing those two songs to us.

God speed you, good woman, I have been a-fishing, and am going to Bleak-hall, to my bed; and having caught more fish than will sup myself and my friend, I will bestow this upon you and your daughter, for I use to sell none.

Milk-wom. Marry, God requite you, sir, and we'll eat it chearfully; and if you come this way a-fishing two months hence, a grace of God, I'll give you a syllabub of new verjuice in a new made haycock for it, and my Maudlin shall sing you one of her best ballads; for she and I both love all anglers, they be such honest, civil, quiet men: in the mean time will you drink a draught of red cow's milk? You shall have it freely.

Pisc. No, I thank you; but I pray do us a courtesy, that shall stand you and your daughter in nothing, and yet we will think ourselves still something in your debt: it is but to sing us a song that was sung by your daughter when I last past over this meadow, about eight or nine days since.

Milk-wom. What song was it, I pray? Was it *Come shepherds, deck your herds?* or, As at noon Dulcina rested? or, Phillida flouts me? or, Chevy-chace? or, Johnny Armstrong? or, Troy-town?

Pisc. No, it is none of those; it is a song that your daughter sung the first part, and you sung the answer to it.

Milk-wom. Oh, I know it now, I learned the first part in my golden age, when I was about the age of my poor daughter, and the latter part, which indeed fits me best now, but two or three years ago, when the cares of the world began to take hold of me: but you shall, God willing, hear them both, and sung as well as we can; for we both love anglers. Come, Maudlin, sing the first part to the gentleman with a merry heart, and I'll sing the second when you have done.

Here follows the milk-maid's song. "Come live with me and be my love," After which the hunter speaks:

Ven. Trust me, master, it is a choice song, and sweetly sung by honest Maudlin. I now see it was not without cause, that our good queen Elizabeth did so often wish herself a milk-maid all the month of May, because they are not troubled with fears and cares, but sing sweetly all the day, and sleep securely all the night; and without doubt, honest, innocent, pretty Maudlin does so. I'll bestow sir Thomas Overbury's milk-maid's wish upon her,

"That she may die in the spring, and, being dead, may have good store of flowers stuck round about her winding sheet."

Then comes the milk-maid's mother's answer. "If all the world and love were young," which done, the mother adds:

Well, I have done my song; but stay, honest anglers, for I will make Maudlin to sing you one short song more. Maudlin, sing that song that you sung last night when young Coridon the shepherd played so purely on his oaten pipe to you and your cousin Betty.

Maud. I will, mother.

"married a wife of late," &c.

Pisc. Well sung, good woman; I thank you. I'll give you another dish of fish one of these days, and then beg another song of you. Come, scholar, let Maudlin alone: do not you offer to spoil her voice. Look, yonder comes mine hostess to call us to supper. How now! is my brother Peter come?

Hostess. Yes, and a friend with him; they are both glad to hear that you are in these parts, and long to see you, and long to be at supper, for they are very hungry.

This is an entertaining little book. It describes rural scenes and pleasures in simple and unaffected language; the dialogue is lively and humorous, and often diversified with pleasing pieces of pastoral poetry. The morality too is pure and peaceful as the lake on which the angler silently awaits his quiet prey. The work was so favorably received, that it passed through five editions in the author's life-time; to the last of which was subjoined a supplement containing "Instructions how to angle for a Trout, or Grayling, in a clear Stream." An elegant edition was published at London, in 1760, with notes historical, critical, and explanatory, and the lives of the authors prefixed. Angling was the favourite amusement of Walton, particularly while he lived in London. Before his time, the precepts of this art were chiefly, if not wholly, traditionary. By committing them to writing in a manner so agreeable, he has bequeathed an acceptable legacy to the lovers of this tranquil amusement.

L'ESTRANGE.

SIR ROGER L'ESTRANGE, famous as the editor of the first newspaper in England, was descended from an ancient and reputable family, seated at Hunstanton Hall, Norfolk, where he was born in 1616. He was liberally educated, probably at Cambridge. Like his father before him, he was a zealous royalist, and attended king Charles in his expedition to Scotland in 1639.

In 1644, during the civil wars, he was once in imminent danger of losing his life. His sentence was passed, the day of his execution fixed; but obtaining a temporary reprieve, and then a prolongation of it, he finally made his escape from prison, after a confinement of nearly four years. Engaging now in an unsuccessful insurrection, he saved his life by flying his

country, and remained abroad till the passing of the act of indemnity, in 1653.

After the restoration, the only recompence he ever received for his loyalty, (except being in the commission of the peace) was his being made licenser of the press; which, however, was a profitable post. In order to increase the means of his support, in 1663, he set up a paper, called "The Public Intelligencer," and "The News." The first of these papers came out 1st of August, and continued to be published twice a week till January 19, 1665, when it was superseded by the scheme of publishing the "London Gazette," the first of which appeared on the 4th of February following.

After the dissolution of Charles's second parliament, in 1679, he set up another paper, called, "The Observator," the design of which was to vindicate the measures of the court, and the character of the king, from the charge of popery. But in 1687, as he disapproved the toleration proposed by his majesty, he discontinued this paper, after it had swollen to three volumes. He was knighted in the following reign; and died in 1704.

He was author of various political and theo-

logical tracts, collected in a 4to volume; also of some others printed in folio; besides translations from the Greek, Latin, and Spanish.

His Æsop's Fables, are probably the most known of his works. The following chapter taken from his "Life of Æsop," will be sufficient to shew his characteristic manner of writing.

Chap. 7. Æsop's invention to bring his Mistress back again to her Husband after she had left him.

The wife of Xanthus was well born and wealthy, but so proud and domineering withal, as if her fortune and her extraction had entitled her to the breeches. She was horribly bold, meddling, and expensive (as that sort of women commonly are) easily put off the hooks, and monstrous hard to be pleased again; perpetually chattering at her husband, and upon all occasions of controversy threatening him to be gone. It came to this at last, that Xanthus's stock of patience being quite spent, he took up a resolution of going another way to work with her, of trying a course of severity, since there was nothing to be done with her by kindness. But this experiment, instead of mending the matter, made it worse; for upon harder usage, the woman grew desperate, and went away from him in earnest. She was as bad, 'tis true, as bad a

thus had a kind of hankering for her still; beside that there was matter of interest in the case; and a pestilent tongue he had, that the poor husband dreaded above all things under the sun. But the man was willing however to make the best of a bad game, and so his wits and his friends were set at work, in the fairest manner that might be, to get her home again. But there was no good to be done in it, it seems; and Xanthus was so visibly out of humour upon it, that Æsop in pure pity bethought himself immediately how to comfort him. Come master, says he, pluck up a good heart, for I have a project in my noddle, that shall bring my mistress to you back again, with as good a will as ever she went from you. What does my Æsop, but away immediately to the market among the butchers, poulterers, fishmongers, confectioners, &c. for the best of every thing that was in season. Nay, he takes private people in his way too, and chops into the very house of his mistress's relations, as by mistake. This way of proceeding set the whole town agog to know the meaning of all this bustle; and Æsop innocently told every body that his master's wife was run away from him, and he had married another: his friends up and down were all invited to come and make merry with him, and this was to be the wedding feast. The news flew like lightning, and happy were they that could carry the first tidings

of it to the run-away lady (for every body knew Æsop to be a servant in that family). It gathered in the rolling, as all other stories do in the telling; especially where womens' tongues and passions have the spreading of them. The wife, that was in her nature violent and unsteady, ordered her chariot to be made ready immediately, and away she posts back to her husband, falls upon him with outrages of looks and language; and after the easing of her mind a little, No Xanthus, says she, do not you flatter yourself with the hopes of enjoying another woman while I am alive. Xanthus looked upon this as one of Æsop's masterpieces; and for that bout all was well again betwixt master and mistress.

Of the literary productions of sir Roger L'Estrange, Mr. Gordon, author of the Independent Whig, speaks in the following disparaging terms. He says, they are "not fit to be read by any who have taste or good breeding. They are full of technical terms; of phrases picked up in the street, from apprentices and porters; and nothing can be more low and nauseous." And again, "Sir Roger had a genius for buffoonery and a rabble, and higher he never went. His style and his thoughts are

too vulgar for a sensible artificer. To put his books into the hands of youth, or boys, for whom Æsop by him burlesqued, was designed, is to vitiate their taste, and to give them a poor low turn of thinking; not to mention the vile and slavish principles of the man. He has not only changed Æsop's plain beasts from the simplicity of nature into jesters, and buffoons; but out of the mouths of animals, inured to the boundless freedom of air and deserts, has drawn doctrines of servitude, and a defence of tyranny."

ANDREW MARVEL.

MR. ANDREW MARVEL, son of the rev. Mr. Andrew Marvel, was born at Kingston on Hull, in Yorkshire, in the year 1620. At the early age of thirteen, he was admitted member of Trinity College, Cambridge, Dec. 14. 1633. Here he became acquainted with some Jesuits, who observing his promising talents, conceived the design of making him a proselyte. They succeeded so far as to seduce him to London, where, after some months, he was found in a bookseller's shop by his father, who prevailed upon him to return to college. He now pursued his studies with indefatigable diligence; and in 1638, proceeded bachelor of arts, and the same year was admitted scholar of the house.

The next twenty years he spent chiefly in travelling, in what quality is unknown, though

during a part of the time he was secretary to the embassy at Constantinople. His first appearance in England as a public character was in 1657, in quality of assistant to Milton, when Latin secretary to the protector. The year before the restoration, he was returned member for Hull, his native place, and sat in the parliament held at Westminster, April 25, 1660. After the restoration, he was again chosen for the parliament which began May 8, 1661. He continued in the house to his death, and conducted himself with such uniform integrity, and with such satisfaction to his constituents, that they generously allowed him a handsome pension for life. He seldom spoke in the house, though his influence without doors over the members of both houses, was considerable. He was particularly intimate with prince Rupert, who paid great deference to his opinion. He was a zealous and constant patriot. The king, having been often delighted in his company, was desirous of conferring on him some marks of his favour; but all such overtures he declined with a magnanimous firmness; alledging, "that he must be either ungrateful to the king in voting against him, or false to his country in giving

into the measures of the court." Among his intimate friends, he numbered the duke of Devonshire; and particularly Milton, with whom his friendship was early formed, and terminated only by death. He has the honour of being the first, together with Dr. Barrow, of exciting the attention of the undiscerning public to the unrivalled merit of the "Paradise Lost." He died in August 1678, in the 58th year of his age, as it was thought, by poison. He was never married; his manners reserved among strangers, were delightful and instructive among friends. His constitution, naturally strong, was fortified by habitual temperance; and he enjoyed uninterrupted health to the last.

His works consist of

1. Poems.

2. The Rehearsal Transprosed, first and second part.

3. Mr. Smirk, or the Divine in Mode; being certain Annotations on the Animadversions on the "Naked Truth;" together with a short historical essay concerning General Councils, Creeds, and Impositions in Matters of Religion; published in 1676, under the name of Andreas Rivetus junior.

4. An Account of the Growth of Popery, and Arbitrary Government in England; more particularly from the long Prorogation of November, 1675, ending the 15th of February 1676, till the last meeting of Parliament, the 16th of July 1677.

In the Rehearsal Transprosed Marvel ridicules Dr. Parker, (afterwards archbishop,) under the name of Bayes.—A name by which Dryden had been formerly satyrised in the comedy of "The Rehearsal."

This gentleman, (Dr. Parker) as I have heard, after he had read Don Quixot, and the Bible, besides such school-books as were necessary for his age, was sent early to the university, and there studied hard, and in a short time became a competent rhetorician, and no ill disputant. He had learnt how to erect a thesis, and to defend it *pro* or *con* with a serviceable distinction; while the truth, as his camarade Mr. Bayes hath it on another occasion,

Before a full pot of ale you can swallow,
Was here with a whoop, and gone with a hollow.

And so, thinking himself now ripe and qualified for the greatest undertakings, and highest fortune,

he therefore exchanged the narrowness of the university for the town: but coming out of the confinement of the square-cap and quadrangle, into the open air, the world began to turn round with him; which he imagined, though it were his own giddiness, to be nothing less than the quadrature of the circle. This accident concurring so happily to increase the good opinion he naturally had of himself, he thenceforward applied to gain a like reputation with others. He followed the town life, haunted the best companies; and to polish himself from any pedantic roughness, he read and saw the plays, with much care, and more proficiency than most of the auditory. But all this while, he forgot not the main chance, but hearing of a vacancy with a nobleman, he clapped in, and easily obtained to be his chaplain. From that day you may take the date of his preferments and his ruin. For having soon wrought himself dexterously into his patron's favour, by short graces and sermons, and a mimical way of drolling upon the puritans, which he knew would take both at chapel and table; he gained a great authority likewise among all the domestics. They all listened to him as an oracle; and they allowed him by common consent to have not only all the divinity, but more wit too than all the rest of the family put together. This thing alone elevated him exceedingly in his own conceit, and raised his hypochondria into

the region of the brain: and his head swelled like any bladder with wind and vapour. But after he was stretched to such an height in his own fancy, that he could not look down from top to toe, but his eyes dazzled at the precipice of his stature; there fell out, or in, another natural chance, which pushed him headlong. For being of an amorous complexion, and finding himself, as I told you, the *cock-divine* and the *cock-wit* of the family, he took the privilege to walk among the hens; and thought it was not impolitic to establish his new-acquired reputation upon the gentlewomen's side. And they that perceived he was a rising man, and of pleasant conversation, dividing his day among them into canonical hours, of reading now the common prayer, and now the romances, were very much taken with him. The sympathy of silk began to stir and attract the tippet to the petticoat and the petticoat toward the tippet. The innocent ladies found a strange unquietness in their minds, and could not distinguish whether it were love or devotion. Neither was he wanting on his part to carry on the work, but shifted himself every day with a clean surplice, and as oft as he had occasion to bow, he directed his reverence towards the gentlewomen's pew, till, having before had enough of the libertine, and undertaken his calling only for preferment, he was transported now with the sanctity of his office, even to extacy; and

like the bishop over Maudlin College altar, or like Maudlin de la Croix, he was seen in his prayers to be lifted up sometimes in the air, and once particularly so high that he cracked his scull against the chapel ceiling. I do not hear for all this that he had ever practised upon the honour of the ladies, but that he preserved always the civility of a Platonic knight-errant. For all this courtship had no other operation than to make him still more in love with himself; and if he frequented their company, it was only to speculate his own baby in their eyes. But being thus without competitor or rival, the darling of both sexes in the family, and his own minion, he grew beyond all measure elated, and that crack of his scull, as in broken looking-glasses, multiplied him in self-conceit and imagination, &c. &c.

The following is a very burlesque and lively description of the conduct of the orthodox divines, on king Charles the Second's publishing the declaration of indulgence to tender consciences. Still addressing the doctor under the name of Bayes, he proceeds:

'I suppose you cannot be ignorant, that some of your superiors of your robe did, upon the publishing that declaration, give the word and deliver orders

through their ecclesiastical camp, to beat up the pulpit drums against popery. Nay, even so much that there was care taken too for arming the poor readers, that though they came short of preachers in point of efficacy, yet they might be enabled to do something in point of common security. So that, though for so many years, those your superiors had forgot there was any such thing in the nation as a popish recusant, though polemical and controversial divinity had for so long but hung up in the halls, like the rusty obsolete armour of our ancestors for monuments of antiquity, and for derision rather than service; all on a sudden (as if the 15th of March had been the 5th of November) happy was he that could climb up first, to get down one of the old cuirasses, or a habergeon that had been worn in the days of queen Elizabeth. Great variety there was, and an heavy doo. Some clapped it on all rusty as it was; others fell of oiling and furbishing their armour; some pissed in their barrels, others spit in their pans, to scour them. Here you might see one put on his helmet the wrong way; there one buckle on a back in place of a breast. Some by mistake catched up a Socinian or Arminian argument, and some a Papist to fight a Papist. Here a dwarf lost in the accoutrements of a giant: there a Don Quixote, in an equipage of differing pieces, and of several parishes. Never was there such incon-

guilty and non-conformity in their furniture. One ran to borrow a sword of Calvin; this man for a musket from Beza; that for a bandeleers even from Kerkerman. But when they came to seek for match, and bullet, and powder, there was none to be had. The fanaticks had bought it all up, and made them pay for it most unconscionably, and through the nose. And no less sport was it to see the leaders. Few could tell how to give the word of command, nor understood to drill a company. They were as unexpert as their soldiers aukward; and the whole was as pleasant a spectacle, as the exercising of the trained bands in ———shire.

The second part of this performance is said in the title page to have been occasioned by two letters: the first printed by a nameless author, intitled "A Reproof," &c. The second left for him at a friend's house dated Nov. 3. 1673, subscribed J. G. and concluding with these words: "If thou darest to print or publish any lie or libel against Dr. Parker, by the eternal God I will cut thy throat."

The following passage is valuable chiefly for

the handsome manner in which Marvel speaks of Milton when in disgrace, after the restoration.

You do three times at least in your Reproof, and in your "Transproser Rehearsed," well nigh half the book through, run upon an author, J. M. which does not a little offend me. For why should any other man's reputation suffer in a contest betwixt you and me? But it is because you resolved to suspect that he had an hand in my former book, wherein, whether you deceive yourself or no, you deceive others extremely. For by chance, I had not seen him of two years before; but after I undertook writing, I did more carefully avoid either visiting or sending to him, lest I should any way involve him in my consequences. And you might have understood, or I am sure your friend, the author of the "Common Places," could have told you, (he too had a flash at J. M. upon my account) that had he took you in hand, you would have had cause to repent the occasion, and not escaped so easily as you did under my *transprosal*. But I take it, moreover, very ill, that you should have so mean an opinion of me, as not to think me competent to write such a simple book as that, without any assistance. It is a sign (however you upbraid me often as your old acquaintance) that you did not know me well, and that

we had not much conversation together. But because in your 115 p. you are so particular, *you know a friend of ours, &c.* intending that J. M. and his Answer to Salmasius, I think it here seasonable to acquit my promise to you in giving the reader a short trouble concerning my first acquaintance with you. J. M. was, and is a man of great learning and sharpness of wit as any man. It was his misfortune, living in a tumultuous time, to be tossed on the wrong side, and he writ *flagrante bello,* certain dangerous treatises. His books of divorce, I know not whether you may have use of; but those upon which you take him at advantage, were of no other nature than that which I mentioned to you, writ by your own father; only with this difference, that your father's, which I have by me, was written with the same design, but with much less wit or judgment, for which there was no remedy; unless you will supply his judgment with his High Court of Justice. At his majesty's happy return, J. M. did partake, even as you yourself did, for all your huffing, of his regal clemency, and has ever since expiated himself in a retired silence. It was after that, I well remember it, that being one day at his house, I there first met you, and accidentally. Since that I have been scarce four or five times in your company; but it were my foresight or my good fortune, I never contracted any friendship or confidence with you. But then it was, when you,

as I told you, wandered up and down Moorfields, astrologizing upon the duration of his majesty's government, that you frequented J. M. incessantly, and haunted his house day by-day. What discourses you there used, he is too generous to remember. But he never having in the least provoked you, for you to insult thus over his old age, to traduce him by your scaramuccios, and in your own person as a schoolmaster, who was born and hath lived much more ingenuously and liberally than yourself; to have done all this, and lay at last my simple book to his charge, without ever taking care to inform yourself better, which you had so easy opportunity to do; nay, when you yourself too have said, to my knowledge, that you saw no such great matter in it, but that I might be the author of it; it is inhumanly and inhospitably done, and will I hope be a warning to all others, as it is to me, to avoid (I will not say such a Judas) but a man that creeps into all companies, to jeer, trepan, and betray them.

OWEN FELLTHAM.

MR. CUMMING in his late edition of Fellt-ham's Resolves, remarks, in the short account of him prefixed, that—"There are few English writers, perhaps none, who enjoyed any considerable celebrity in the ages in which they lived, of whom less is known, than of the author of the Resolves; and what is particularly remarkable, though this production of his pen has passed through no less than twelve editions, I do not find the name of Owen Fellt-ham to have been made the subject of an article in any one of our printed biographical collections."

It appears that he was the son of Thomas Fellthan of Suffolk, gent. who died in 1631; and scarcely any other particulars of his life

are known with certainty. He was probably connected, in quality of gentleman of the horse, or secretary, with the family of the earl of Thomond; since in the dedication prefixed to the later editions of the Resolves, and which is addressed "To the Right Hon. my most honoured Lady Mary Countess Dowager of Thomond," he declares "that most of them were drawn up under her roof." He probably died about the year 1677.

The second edition of the Resolves is in the Bodleian Library, and bears the date of 1628. His motives for writing the Resolves are best explained in his own words. He says:

"What I aim at in it, I confess, hath most respect to myself; that I might out of my own school, take a lesson, which should serve me for my own pilgrimage; and if I should wander, my own items might set me in Heaven's direct way again." "We do not (continued he) run into crimes, that from our own mouth have had sentence of condemnation." And again—"that I might curb my own wild passions, I have writ these; and if thou findest a line may mend thee, I shall think I have divulged it to purpose. Read all, and use thy mind's liberty; how thy suffrage falls, I weigh not;

for it was not so much to please others as to profit myself. In the preface to the amended editions, he farther observes—" Sure it is, the invitation I had to write and publish them, were not so much to please others, or to shew any thing I had could be capable of the name of parts; but to give the world some account how I spent my vacant hours, and that (by passing the press they becoming, in a manner, *ubiquitaries*) they might every where be as boundaries to hold him within the limits of prudence, honour, and virtue."

To the eighth and subsequent impressions of the Resolves is appended, " A brief character of the Low Countries under the States;" and some letters serious and sportive. Of this performance, Mr. Cumming remarks " that it proves Felltham to have been a very lively wit, as well as a grave moralist. It abounds with keen strokes of humour, chiefly displayed at the expence of the Hollanders, and affords some very neat and entertaining descriptions of their character, their manners, their institutions, and of several of their large cities, &c. It was written by Felltham when a youth, as a recreation, while on a three weeks tour in the Low Countries."

For a somewhat more detailed account of this author, the reader is referred to Cumming's edition of the Resolves, published last year, 1806.

Of Fame.

It may seem strange, that a man should have such an earnest desire of a noble fame and memory, after his death: when, at the same time, he knows that the tongues of the living avail nothing to the good or hurt of those who lie in their graves; and that the account must pass upon his actions, and not upon the reports of others. There is hardly any thing which we possess that we reckon of equal value with fame; our wealth, our comfort, nay, sometimes even our lives, are held cheap when they come in competition with it. When Philip asked Democritus, if he did not fear to lose his head, he answered, "No; for if he did lose it, the Athenians would give him one that would be immortal." He would be statued in the treasury of eternal fame. Ovid's comfort, in his banishment, was his fame:—

——— *Nil non mortale tenemus,*
Pectoris exceptis ingeniique bonis.
En ego cum patriâ caream, vobisque, domoque;
Raptaque sint, adimi quæ potuere mihi;

Ingenio tamen ipse meo comitorque fruorque:
Cæsar in hoc potuit juris habere nihil.
Quilibet hanc sævo vitam mihi finiat ense:
Me tamen extincto, fama perennis erit.

——— All that we hold will die,
But our brave thoughts and ingenuity.
Even I that want my country-house and friend,
From whom is ravish'd all that fate can rend;
Possess yet my own genius, and enjoy
That which is more than Cæsar can destroy.
Each groom may kill me: but whensoe'er I die,
My fame shall live to mate eternity.

OVID'S TRIST. iii. 7.

Plutarch tells us of a poor Indian, that would rather endure death than shoot before Alexander, having been out of practice; lest by shooting ill he should mar the fame he had acquired. Desire of glory is the last thing that even wise men lay aside. For this you may take Tacitus.—*Etiam sapientibus, cupido gloriæ novissima exuitur.* It was Tamerlane's practice to read often the heroic deeds of his own ancestors; not as any boast to himself, but as glorious examples propounded to inflame his virtues. The noble acts of our predecessors, are as flaming beacons, which fame and time have set on hills, to call us to a defence of virtue, whensoever vice invades

the commonwealth of man. Who can endure to skulk away his life in an idle corner, when he has the means of usefulness within him, and finds how fame has blown about deserving names? In weak and base minds, worth begets envy; but in those which are magnanimous, emulation. Roman virtue made Roman virtues lasting. A brave man never dies; but, like the phœnix, others rise out of his preserved ashes. How many valiant soldiers does a generous leader make! Brutus bred many constant patriots. Fame, I confess, I find more eagerly pursued by the heathen race, than by the christian. The immortality (as they thought) of their name, was to them as the immortality of the soul to us; which often made them sacrifice their lives to that which they esteemed above their lives, their fame. Christians know a thing beyond it, and that knowledge causes them to give but a secondary respect to fame; there being no reason why we should neglect that whereon all our future happiness depends, for that which is nothing but a name of empty air. Virtue were a kind of misery, if fame only were all the garland that crowned her. Glory alone were a reward incompetent for the toils of industrious man. This follows him but on earth; but in heaven is laid up a more noble, more essential recompence. Yet, as it is a fruit which springs from good actions, I cannot help thinking, that he who loves that, loves

also that which causes it, worthiness. I will honour fame for the deserving deeds which produced it. In myself I will respect the actions that may merit it; and, though for my own benefit, I will not much seek it; yet I shall be glad if it may follow me, to incite others, that they may go beyond me. I will, if I can, tread the path which leads to it; if I find it, I shall think it a blessing; if not, my endeavour will be enough for discharging myself within, though I miss it. God is not bound to reward me any way; if he accepts me, I may count it a mercy. I like him who does things which deserve fame, without either search or caring for it. For a mean man to thirst for a mighty fame, is an absurd ambition. Can we think a mouse can cast a shadow like an elephant? Can the sparrow look for a train like the eagle? A great fame is for princes; and such as, for their parts, are the glories of humanity: a good fame may crown the private man. Let the world speak well of me, and I will never care, though it does not speak much. Check thyself, vain man, that pursuest fleeting shadows.—Love substances, and rest thyself content with what Boetius tells thee.—

Quicumque solam, mente præcipiti, petit,
Summumque credit, gloriam:
Latè patentes ætheris cernat plagas,
Arctumque terrarum situm.

Brevem replere non valentis ambitum,
Pudebit aucti nominis.

DE CONSOLATIONE.

He that thirsts for glorious prize,
Thinking that the top of all:
Let him view th' expanded skies,
And the earth's contracted ball.
He'll be asham'd then, that the name he wan,
Fills not the short walk of one healthful man.

Of being over-valued.

Let me have but so much wisdom as that I may orderly manage myself and my means; and I shall never care to be pointed at, with a *that is he*. I wish not to be esteemed wiser than usual: they that are so do better in concealing it, than in telling the world of it. I hold it a greater injury to be over-valued, than under; for when brought to the touch, the one shall rise with praise, while the other shall decline with shame. The former has more present honour, but less safety: the latter is humbly secure, and what is wanting in renown is made up in a better blessing, quiet. There is no detraction worse than to over-praise a man; for if his worth prove short of what report doth speak him, his own actions are ever giving the lie to his honour.

Of Detraction.

In some dispositions there is such an envious kind of pride, that they cannot endure that any but themselves should be set forth as excellent: so that when they hear one justly praised, they will either openly detract from his virtues: or, if those virtues be like a clear and shining light, eminent and distinguished, so that he cannot be safely traduced by the tongue, they will then raise a suspicion against him by a mysterious silence, as if there were something remaining to be told, which over-clouded even his brightest glory. Surely, if we considered detraction to proceed, as it does, from envy, and to belong only to deficient minds, we should find, that to applaud virtue would procure us far more honour, than underhandedly seeking to disparage her. The former would shew that we loved what we commended, while the latter tells the world, we grudge that in others which we want in ourselves. It is one of the basest offices of man, to make his tongue the lash of the worthy. Even if we do know of faults in others, I think we can scarcely shew ourselves more nobly virtuous, than in having the charity to conceal them; so that we do not flatter or encourage them in their failings. But to relate any thing we may know against our neighbour, in his absence, is most unbeseeming conduct. And

who will not condemn him as a traitor to reputation and society, who tells the private fault of his friend to the public and ill-natured world? When two friends part, they should lock up one another's secrets, and exchange their keys. The honest man will rather be a grave to his neighbour's errors, than in any way expose them. The counsel in the satire I much approve :—

——— *Absentem qui redit amicum ;*
Qui non defendit, alio culpante ; solutos
Qui captat risus hominum, famamque dicacis ;
Fingere qui non visa potest ; commissa tacere
Qui nequit ; hic niger est ; hunc tu, Romane, caveto.
HOR. Sat. i. 4.

He who malignant, tears an absent friend,
Or when attack'd by others, don't defend;
Who trivial bursts of laughter strives to raise,
And courts of prating petulance the praise ;
Of things he never saw, who tells his tale;
And friendship's secrets knows not to conceal :
This man is vile ; here fix your mark ;
His soil is black, as his complexion's dark.

And for the most part, he is as dangerous in another vice as in this. He that can detract unworthily, when thou can'st not answer him, can flatter thee as unworthily when thou must hear him. It is usual

with him to smooth it in the chamber, who keeps a railing tongue for the hall: besides, it implies a kind of cowardice to speak against another when he is not present to defend himself. The valiant man's tongue, though it never boasteth vainly, yet is ever the greatest coward in absence; but the coward is never valiant but then. There is nothing argues nature more degenerate, than her secretly repining at another's merits. Indeed, it is difficult to speak of a man truly *as he is:* but, at any rate, I would not detract from the fame of the absent: it is then a time for praise, rather than for reprehension. Let praise be sounded to the spreading air; but chidings whispered in the kissed ear: which teaches us, even while we chide, to love.

That Virtue and Vice generate after their Kind.

Virtue begets virtue; vice begets vice. It is as natural for a man to expect a return of virtue out of virtue, and a return of vice out of vice, as it is for him to expect an elephant should beget an elephant, or a serpent beget a serpent. Nay, it not only holds of the genus, but also of the very species; and oftentimes, the proportion of that species too. High actions beget a return of actions that are so; and poor

low ones beget a return of the like. The echo is according to the voice that speaks; the report of the piece is proportionable to its magnitude; if it be but by reflection only, the beams are reverberated bright, as is the sun that shines them; and clouds cast a shade according to their blackness. The Romans bestowed on Attalus the kingdom of Pergamus, on account of his friendship and munificence; and he, to express his gratitude, not having any children of his own, left the city of Rome the heir of his wealth. The virtues of Terentius, and his being one of the Roman senate, made so deep an impression on Scipio's manly heart, that when the Carthaginians came to sue to him for peace, he would not hear them till they brought Terentius forth, discharged of his imprisonment; whom he placed on the throne with himself. And this again so prevailed with Terentius, that when Scipio had his triumph, Terentius, though a senator, put himself into Scipio's livery, and as his freedman, waited on his pompous chariot. He teaches me to be good, who does me good: he prompts me to enlarge my heart to him (unless my virtue be totally dried up and withered,) who first enlarges his own to me. And the same effect hath vice. With the froward thou shalt learn frowardness. Passion enkindles passion; and pride begets pride. How many are calm and quiet till they meet with one who is choleric! He who sows iniquity must look to

reap it. Did not David's murder and adultery bring the sword and incest into his family? How fatally and strikingly was the massacre at Paris marked by the massacre of the chief actors and contrivers of it! Charles the king, before the twenty-fifth year of his age, died bathed in blood; and Anjou, his successor, was assassinated, and slain in the same room that the massacre was plotted in. Guise was murdered by the king's order; the queen was consumed with grief; and with succeeding civil war, both Paris and the nation torn. It is a remarkable instance of retaliation, which is afforded in the story of Valentinian and Maximus. Valentinian by fraud and force seduced the wife of Maximus: for which Maximus by fraud and force murdered him and married his wife; who, from disdain at being forced into the marriage, and a desire to revenge her husband's death, plotted the destruction of Maximus and Rome. No proverb is more true than the saying of the satirist:

Ad generum Cereris sine cæde et sanguine, pauci
Descendunt reges, et siccâ morte tyranni.

Juv. Sat. x.

Few tyrants find death natural, calm, or good;
But, broach'd with slaughter, roll to hell in blood.

There is in vices not only a natural production of evil in general, but there is a proportion of parts

and dimensions, as a seed bringing forth a plant, or the parent a son. Bagoas, a Persian nobleman, having poisoned Artaxerxes and Arsames, was detected by Darius, and forced to drink poison himself. Diomedes, who with human flesh fed beasts, was at last, by Hercules, made their food himself. Pope Alexander the Sixth, having designed the poisoning of his friend cardinal Adrian, by his cup-bearer's mistake of the bottle, took the draught himself; and so died by the same engine which he himself had appointed to kill another. In vain do they exert good, who would have it arise out of evil. I may as well, when I plant a thistle, expect a fig; or upon sowing cockle, look for wheat, as to think by indirect courses, to beget my own benefit. The best policy is to sow good and honest actions, and then we may expect a harvest that is answerable.

Of Neglect.

There is the same difference between diligence and neglect, that there is between a garden properly cultivated and the sluggard's field which fell under Solomon's view, when overgrown with nettles and thorns. The one is clothed with beauty, the other is unpleasant and disgusting to the sight. Negligence is the rust of the soul, that corrodes through all her best

resolutions. What nature made for use, for strength, and ornament, neglect alone converts to trouble, weakness, and deformity. We need only sit still, and diseases will arise from the mere want of exercise.

How fair soever the soul may be; yet while connected with our fleshy nature, it requires continual care and vigilance to prevent its being soiled and discoloured. Take the weeders from the *Floralium*, and a very little time will change it to a wilderness; and turn that which was before a recreation for men, into a habitation for vermin. Our life is a warfare; and we ought not, while passing through it, to sleep without a sentinel, or march without a scout. He who neglects either of these precautions, exposes himself to surprise, and to becoming a prey to the diligence and perseverance of his adversary. The mounds of life and virtue, as well as those of pastures, will decay; and if we do not repair them, all the beasts of the field will enter, and tear up every thing good which grows within them. With the religious and well-disposed, a slight deviation from wisdom's laws will disturb the mind's fair peace. Macarius did penance for only killing a gnat in anger. Like the Jewish touch of things unclean, the least miscarriage requires purification. Man is like a watch; if evening and morning he be not wound up with prayer and circumspection, he is unprofitable and false; or serves to mislead. If the instrument be not truly set,

it will be harsh and out of tune; the diapason dies, when every string does not perform his part. Surely, without an union to God, we cannot be secure or well. Can he be happy, who from happiness is divided? To be united to God we must be influenced by his goodness, and strive to imitate his perfections. Diligence alone is a good patrimony; but neglect will waste the fairest fortune. One preserves and gathers; the other, like death, is the dissolution of all. The industrious bee, by her sedulity in summer, lives on honey all the winter. But the drone is not only cast out from the hive, but beaten and punished.

FRANCE TO THE LIFE.

FRANCE painted to the Life, by a learned and impartial hand.—Motto.—

Quid non Gallia parturit ingens.

Second edition; London, printed for William Leake, at the Crown, in Fleet-street, betwixt the two Temple gates, 1657.

Of this curious book, I know nothing more than what we are told in the title page. It will be seen from the following extract, that the French national character has not materially altered since the time of its being written.

The cart stayeth, and it is fit we were in it; horses we could get none for money, and for love we did not expect them. We are now mounted in one chariot,

for so we must call it. An Englishman thought it a plain cart, and if it needs will have the honour of being a chariot, let it; sure I am, it was never ordained for a triumph. At one end were fastened three carcasses of horses, and three bodies which had been once horses, and now were worn to dead images. Had the statue of a man been placed on any one of them, it might have been hanged up at an inn door to represent St. George on horse-back; so lifeless they were and so little moving: yet at last they began to crawl, for go they could not. This converted me from my former heresy, and made me apprehend life in them; but it was so little, that it seemed only enough to carry them to the next pack of hounds. Thus accommodated, we bade farewell to Dieppe, and proceeded with a pace so slow, that we thought our journey to Rouen would prove a most perfect emblem of the motion of the ninth sphere, which was forty-nine thousand years in finishing. But this was not our greatest misery; the rain fell on us through our tilt, which for the many holes in it, we would have thought a net. The dust brake plentifully in upon us through the rails of our chariot, and the unequal and unproportionable pace of it startled almost every bone of us. I protest I marvel how a Frenchman durst adventure in it. Thus endured we all the diseases of a journey, and the danger of three several deaths, drowning, choaking with the mire, and break-

ing of the wheel, besides a fear of being famished before we came to our inn, which was six French miles from us. The mad duke that in the play undertook to drive two snails from Millaine to Musco, without staff, whip, or goad; and in a bravery to match him, for an experiment, would here have had matter to have tired his patience. * * * We came at last to Tostes, the place destinate to our lodging; a town like the worser sort of market towns in England. There our charioteer brought us to the ruins of a house, an alehouse I would scarce have thought it, and yet in spite of my teeth it must be an inn, yea, and that an honourable one too, as Don Quixote's host told him. Despair of finding there either bedding or victuals made me just like the fellow at the gallows, who, when he might have been reprieved, on condition he would marry a wench which there sued for him; having viewed well, cried to the hangman to drive on his cart. The truth is, *J'eschappay du tonnere et rencheu en l'es lair*, according to the French proverb; I fell out of the frying-pan into the hot fire. One of the house (a ragged fellow I am sure he was, and so most likely to live there) brought us to a room somewhat of kindred to a charnel-house; as dark and as dampish; I confess it was paved with brick at the bottom, and had towards the orchard a pretty hole, which in former times had been a window, but now the glass was all vanished. By the light

that came in at the hole, I first perceived that I was not in England. There stood in the chamber three beds, if at the least it be lawful so to call them. The foundation of them was of straw, so infinitely thronged together, that the wool-pack which our judges sit on in the parliament were melted butter to them. Upon this lay a medley of flocks and feathers together, sowed up in a large bag, (for I am confident it was not a tick) but so ill ordered, that the knobs stuck out on each side of it, like a crab-tree cudgel. He must needs have flesh enough that lieth upon one of them; otherwise, the second night would wear out his bones. The sheets they brought for us were so coarse, that in my conscience no mariner would vouchsafe to use them for a sail; and the coverlid so bare, that if a man would undertake to reckon the threads, he need not miss one of the number. The napery of the table was suitable to the bedding; so foul and dirty, that I durst not conceive it had ever been washed above once, and yet the poor cloth looked as briskly, as if it had been promised for the whole year ensuing to escape many a scouring. The napkins were fit companions for the cloth; *unum si noveris, omnia nósti.* By my description of the inn you may guess at the rest of France. Not altogether so wretched, yet is the alteration almost insensible.

Let us now walk into the kitchen, and observe their provision; and here we found a most terrible

execution commission committed on the person of a pullet. My hostess, cruel woman, had cut the throat of it, and without plucking off the feathers, tare it into pieces with her hands, and afterwards took away skin and feathers together, just as we strip rabbits in England. This done, it was clapped into a pan, and fried into a supper. In other places where we could get meat for the spit, it useth to be presently broached, and laid perpendicularly over the fire; three turns at most dispatcheth it, and bringeth it up to the table, rather scorched than roasted. I say, where we could get it; for in these rascally inns you cannot have what you would, but what you may; and that also not at the cheapest. At Pontoise we met with a rabbit, and we thought we had found a great purchase. Larded it was, as all meat is in that country, otherwise it is so lean it would never endure the roasting. In the eating it proved so tough, that I could not be persuaded that it was any more than three removes from that rabbit which was in the ark. The price, half-a-crown English. My companions thought it over dear; to me it seemed very reasonable; for certainly the grass that fed it was worth more than thrice the money; but I return to Tostes.

And it is time, you might perchance else have lost the sight of mine hostess and her daughters; you would have sworn at first blush they had been of a blood, and it had been great pity had it been otherwise,

The salutation of Horace, *O mater pulchra, filia pulchrior*, was never so reasonable as here. Not to honour them with a further character, let this suffice; that their persons kept so excellent decorum with the house and furniture, that one could not possibly make use of Tully's, *Quam dispari dominaris domino!* But this is not their luck only. The women, not of Normandy alone, but generally of all France, are forced to be contented with a little beauty; and she which with us is reckoned among the vulgar, would amongst them be taken for a princess. But of the French women more, when we have taken a view of the dames of Paris; now only somewhat of their habit and condition. Their habit, in which they differ from the rest of France, is the attire of their heads, which hangeth down their backs in fashion of a veil. In Rouen and the greater cities, it is made of linen, pure and decent; here and in the villages it cannot be possibly any thing else than an old dish-clout turned out of service, or the corner of a table cloth reserved from washing. Their best condition is not always visible; they shew it only in the mornings, or when you are ready to depart, and that is their begging. You shall have about you such a throng of these ill faces, and every one whining out this ditty, *Pour les servantes;* that one might with greater ease distribute a dole at a rich man's funeral, than give them a penny: had you a purpose to

give them unasked, their importunity will prevent your speediest bounty. After all this importunate begging, their ambition reacheth no higher than a *sol*: he that giveth more, outbiddeth their expectation, and shall be counted a spendthrift.

But the principal ornaments of these times are the men-servants, the raggedest regiment that I ever yet looked upon. Such a thing as a chamberlain was never heard of among them, and good clothes are as little known there as he. By the habit of his attendants, a man would think himself in goal, their clothes either full of patches or else open to the skin. Bid one of them wipe your boots, he presently hath recourse to the curtains; with those he will perhaps rub over one side, and leave the other to be made clean by the guest. It is enough for him that he hath written the copy. They wait always with their hats on their heads, and so also do servants before their masters: attending bare-headed is as much out of fashion there as in Turkey. Of all French fashions, in my opinion the most unfitting and unseeming. Time and much use reconciled me to all other things, which were at the first offensive; to this irreverent custom I returned an enemy. Neither can I see how it can choose but stomach the most patient, to see the worthiest sign of liberty usurped and profaned by the basest of slaves. For seeing that the French peasants are such infamous slaves unto their lords

and princes, it cannot be but those which are their servants must be one degree at the least below the lowest condition. * * * This French sauciness had drawn me out of my way. An impudent familiarity, which I must confess did much offend me, and to which I will still profess myself an open enemy. Though Jack speak French, I cannot endure that Jack should be a gentleman.

The present French, then, is nothing but an old Gaul, moulded into a new name; as rash he is as headstrong, and as hair-brained. A nation whom you shall win with a feather, and lose with a straw; upon the first sight of him you shall have him as familiar as your sleep, or the necessity of breathing; in one hour's conference you may endear him to you; in the second unbutton him; the third pumps him dry of all his secrets, and he gives them you as faithfully as if you were his ghostly father, and bound to conceal them, *sub sigillo confessionis;* when you have learned this you may lay him aside, for he is no longer serviceable. If you have any humour in holding him in a further acquaintance, (a favour which he confesseth, and I believe him, he is unworthy of) himself will make the first separation. He has said over his lesson now unto you, and now must find out somebody else to whom to repeat it. Fare him well; he is a garment whom I would be loth to wear above two days together, for in that time he

will be thread-bare. *Familiare est hominis omnia sibi remittere*, saith Velleius, of all, it holdeth most properly in this people. He is very kind-hearted to himself, and thinketh himself as free from wants, as he is full: so much he hath in him the nature of a *Chinois*, that he thinketh all men blind but himself. In this private self-conceitedness he hateth the Spaniard, loveth not the English, and contemneth the German: himself is the only courtier and complete gentleman; but it is his own glass which he seeth in. Out of this conceit of his own excellency, and partly out of shallowness of brain, he is very liable to exceptions; the least distaste that can be draweth his sword, and a minute's pause sheatheth it to your hand: afterwards, if you beat him into better manners, he shall take it kindly and cry *serviteur*. In this one thing they are wonderfully like the devil; meekness or submission makes them insolent, a little resistance putteth them to their heels, or makes them your spaniels. In a word (for I have held him too long) he is a walking vanity in a new fashion.

I will give you now a taste of his table, which you shall find in a measure furnished, (I speak not of the peasant) but not with so full a manner as with us. Their beef they cut out into such chops, that that which goeth there for a laudable dish would be thought here a university commons, new served from the hatch. A loin of mutton serves amongst

them for three roastings, besides the hazard of making potage with the rump. Fowl also they have in good plenty; especially such as the king found in Scotland: to say truth, that which they have is sufficient for nature and a friend, were it not for the mistress or the kitchen-wench. I have heard much fame of the French cooks; but their skill lieth not in the neat handling of beef or mutton. They have (as generally have all this nation) good fancies, and are special fellows for the making of puff pastes, and the ordering of banquets. Their trade is not to feed the belly, but the palate. It is now time you were set down, where the first thing you must do is to say your own grace; private graces are as ordinary there as private masses, and from thence I think they learned them. That done, fall to where you like best; they observe no method in their eating, and if you look for a carver you may rise fasting. When you are risen, if you can digest the sluttishness of the cookery, (which is most abominable at first sight) I dare trust you in a garrison; follow him to church, and there he will shew himself most irreligious and irreverent; I speak not of all, but the general. At a mass in Cordelier's church in Paris, I saw two French papists, even when the most sacred mystery of their faith was celebrating, break out into such a blasphemous and atheistical laughter, that even an *Ethnick* would have hated it: it was well

they were known to be catholics, otherwise some French hot-head or other would have sent them laughting to Pluto.

The French language is indeed very sweet and delectable; it is cleared of all harshness by the cutting and leaving out the consonants, which maketh it fall off the tongue very volubly: yet in mine opinion it is rather elegant than copious; and therefore is much troubled for want of words to find out periphrases. It expresseth very much of itself in the action; the head, body, and shoulders, concur all the pronouncing of it; and he that hopeth to speak it with a good grace, must have something in him of the mimic. It is enriched with a full number of significant proverbs, which is a great help to the French humour in scoffing, and very full of courtship, which maketh all the people complimental; the poorest cobler in the village hath his court cringes, and his *eau bemste de cour*, his court holy water, as perfectly as the prince of Condé.

In the passadoes of their courtship, they express themselves with much variety of gesture; and indeed it doth not misbecome them. Were it as graceful in the gentlemen of other nations as in them, it were worth your patience; but the affectation of it is scurvy and ridiculous. *Quocumque salutationis artificio corpus inflectant, putes nihil istâ institutione magis convenire. Vicinæ autem gentes ridiculo errore deceptæ,*

ejusdem venustatis imitationem ludicram faciunt et ingratam: as one happily observed at being amongst them. I have heard of a young gallant son to a great lord of one of the three British kingdoms, that spent some years in France to learn fashions; at his return he desired to see the king, and his father procured him an interview. When he came within the presence chamber he began to compose his head, and carried it as though he had been ridden with a martingale; next he fell to draw back his legs, and thrust out his shoulders, and that with such a graceless apishness, that the king asked him if he meant to shoulder him out of his chair; and so left him to act out his compliments to the hangings. In their courtship they bestow even their highest titles upon those of the lowest condition. This is the vice also of their common talk. The beggar begetteth *monsieurs* and *madames* to his sons and daughters, as familiarly as the king: were there no other reason to persuade me that the Welch or Britons were the descendants of the Gauls, this only were sufficient, that they would all be gentlemen.

His discourse runneth commonly on two wheels, *treason* and *ribaldry;* I never heard people talk less reverently of their prince, nor more saucily of his actions; scarce a day passeth away without some seditious pamphlet printed and published, in the disgrace of the king or of some of his courtiers. These

are every man's money, and he that buyeth them is not coy of the contents, be they never so scandalous: of all humours the most harsh and odious. Take him from this (which you can hardly do till he hath told all) and then he falleth upon his ribaldry; without these crutches his discourse would never be able to keep pace with his company. Thus shall you have them relate the stories of their own uncleanness, with a face as confident as if they had had no accident to please their hearers more commendable. Thus will they reckon up the several profanations of pleasure, by which they have dismanned themselves; sometimes not sparing to descend unto particulars. A valiant captain never gloried more in the number of the cities he had taken, than they do of the several women they have prostituted.

Egregiam vero laudem, et spolia ampla!

Foolish and most perishing wretches, by whom each several incontinency is twice committed, first in the act, and secondly in the boast.

BOYLE.

ROBERT BOYLE, the seventh son and fourteenth child of Richard earl of Cork, was born at Lismore in the county of Cork, and province of Munster in Ireland, 1626-7. He was taught Latin by one of the earl's chaplains; and French by a Frenchman resident in the house. When eight years of age, he entered at Eton-school, under Mr. Harrison, then master of that seminary; where having remained about four years, he was sent, in 1638, with his brother Francis, lately married, on his travels to the continent, under the superintendance of Mr. Marcombes. They landed at Dieppe in Normandy, and proceeded thence to Rouen, Paris, Lyons, and finally to Geneva, where, his governor having a family, he and

his brother remained to pursue their studies. Here Boyle resumed the mathematics, in which he had been initiated at Eton.

An anecdote, which explains the cause of his first attention to mathematical subjects, ought not to be passed over in silence; as it indicates not merely the early developement of his reasoning powers, but exhibits in a striking manner, a general and important fact in education. Boyle, when at school, and before he was ten years of age, was so seriously attacked with an ague, that it was thought necessary to suspend his studies; or, at least, to allow him to please his own fancy in the choice of books. He chose Romances, which produced such dissipation of thought and unsettledness of mind, that even on the recovery of his health, he found it difficult to fix his attention to any one subject. To cure this mental disease, he resorted to an expedient, which will excite astonishment, if we consider his tender years. He applied forcibly to the extraction of the square and cube roots, and the solution of algebraical equations. This had the desired effect. It moreover gave a permanent direction to his talents, and was the embryo of that great birth of philosophical discoveries he

subsequently brought forth, and by which his name has become immortal.

He quitted Geneva in 1641, and passing through Switzerland and the country of the Grisons, entered Lombardy; and pursuing his rout through Bergamo, Brescia, and Verona, arrived at Venice, where having staid a short time, he returned to the continent and spent the winter at Florence. During his stay in this city, the famous Galileo died at a village in the vicinity. He thence visited Rome, Leghorn, and Genoa; and in 1644, he with his brother returned to England.

Boyle was one of the first members of that society styled by him the *invisible*, by themselves, the *philosophical* college, who, after the restoration, were incorporated under the title of the Royal Society. In 1654, he took up his residence at Oxford, on account of the various adaptations of the place to retirement, study, and philosophical intercourse. It occasioned also the removal of the *invisible college*, from London to that university. During his residence here, he invented the air-pump. He finally settled, however, in London, where he died in 1691.

The writings of Boyle are very voluminous;

the greater part on subjects of mechanical philosophy; and not a few on other branches of knowledge. The following will be found a tolerably correct list, exclusive of his numerous papers in the Phil. Trans. His first work of any importance was that subsequent to his discovery of the air pump, entitled,

1. New Experiments touching the Spring of the Air. Published shortly after the restoration, in 1660.

2. Physiological Essays, and other Tracts, 1661.

3. The Sceptical Chemist, 1661.

4. Considerations on the Usefulness of Experimental Natural Philosophy, 1663.

5. Experiments and Considerations upon Colours; to which was added, a Letter, containing, Observations upon a Diamond that shines in the dark.

6. Considerations on the Style of the Holy Scriptures.

7. Occasional Reflections on several Subjects; to which is prefixed, a Discourse concerning the Nature and Use of such kind of Writings, 1665.

8. Experiments and Observations relative

to an experimental History of Cold, with several Pieces thereunto annexed, 1665.

9. Hydrostatical Paradoxes, made out by new Experiments, for the most part physical and easy, 1666.

10. The Origin of Forms and Qualities, according to Corpuscular Philosophy, illustrated by Experiments, 1666.

11. Continuation of new Experiments, touching the Spring and Weight of the Air; to which is added, a Discourse of the Atmospheres of consistent Bodies, 1669.

12. Of the Cosmical Qualities of Things, 1670.

13. Considerations on the Usefulness of Experimental and Natural Philosophy, the second part, 1671.

14. A Collection of Tracts upon several useful and important points of Practical Philosophy, 1671.

15. Essay about the Origin and Virtue of Gems, 1672.

16. A Collection of Tracts touching the Relation between Flame and Air, 1672.

17. Essays on the strange Subtlety, great Efficacy, and determinate Nature of Effluvia;

to which were added, variety of Experiments on other Subjects, 1673.

18. A Collection of Tracts on the Saltness of the Sea, the Moisture of the Air, the natural and præternatural State of Bodies; to which is prefixed, a Dialogue concerning Cold, 1674.

19. A Collection of Tracts, comprehending some Suspicions about hidden Qualities of the Air; Animadversions upon Mr. Hobbes's Problem about a Vacuum; a Discourse of the Cause of Attraction by Suction, 1674.

20. In 1675, he printed, Considerations about the Reconcileableness of Reason and Religion, by T. E. a Layman; to which was annexed, a Discourse about the Possibility of the Resurrection, by Mr. Boyle.—Both these were written by Boyle; the signature of the first being merely the final letters of his name.

21. An Experimental Discourse of Quicksilver growing hot with Gold. Printed in the Philosophical Transactions, 1675.

22. Experiments and Notes about the Mechanical Origin of particular Qualities, 1676.

23. Observations on an artificial Substance that shines without any preceding Illustration, 1678.

24. Historical Account of a Degradation of Gold, made by an Anti-elixir, 1678.

25. Tracts; the Aerial Noctiluca; and a Process of a factitious self-shining Substance, 1680.

26. A Discourse of Things above Reason, 1681.

27. New Experiments and Observations upon the icy Noctiluca; to which is added, a Chemical Paradox, making it probable, that their principles are transmutable, so that out of one of them, others may be produced, 1682.

28. The second part of the Continuation of new Experiments touching the Spring and Weight of the Air, and a large Appendix, 1682.

29. Letter to Dr. John Beale, relative to making Fresh Water out of Salt, 1683.

30. Memoirs for the Natural History of Human Blood, 1684.

31. Experiments and Considerations about the Porosity of Bodies, in two parts; the first relating to Animals, the second to solid Bodies, 1684.

32. Short Memoirs for the natural experimental History of Mineral Waters, with directions as to the several Methods of trying

them; including abundance of new and useful Remarks, as well as several curious Experiments, 1685.

33. An Essay of the great Effects of languid and unheeded Motion; with an Appendix, containing an experimental Discourse of some hitherto little regarded Causes of the Insalubrity and Salubrity of the Air, and its Effects, 1685.

34. A Dissertation on the Reconcileableness of Specific Medicines to the Corpuscular Philosophy; to which is added, a Discourse of the Advantages attending the use of simple Medicines. To these philosophical, he added a Theological Discourse of the high Veneration Man's Intellect owes to God, particularly for his Wisdom and Power, 1685.

35. Free Enquiry into the vulgarly received Notion of Nature, 1686.

36. The Martyrdom of Theodora and Dydimia; a work drawn up in his youth, 1687.

37. A Disquisition into the final Causes of natural Things; and whether, if at all, with what caution a Naturalist should admit them; to which is added, an Appendix about vitiated sight, 1688.

I shall present the reader with an extract from this piece. The author proposes at the outset, these four questions: 1. Whether, generally or indefinitely speaking, there be any final causes of things corporeal, knowable by naturalists? 2. Whether, if the first question be resolved in the affirmative, we may consider final causes in all sorts of bodies, or only in some peculiarly qualified ones? 3. Whether, or in what sense, the acting for ends, may be ascribed to an intelligent (and even inanimate) body? 4. And, lastly, how far, and with what cautions, arguments may be framed upon the suppositon of final causes?

Sect. 1.

To begin with the first question. Those that would exclude final causes from the consideration of the naturalist, are wont to do it, (for ought I have observed) upon one of these two accounts; either that with Epicurus, they think the world was the production of atoms and chance, without any intervention of a deity; and that, consequently, it is improper and vain to seek for final causes in the effects of chance: or that they judge with Des Cartes, that God being an omniscient agent, it is rash and presumptuous for men to think, that they know, or can

investigate, what ends he proposed to himself in his actings about his creatures. The ground on which the Epicureans have rejected final causes has been disallowed by the philosophers of almost all other sects; and some have written sufficient confutations of it, which therefore I shall here forbear to insist on; though some things I shall upon occasion observe, that may help, if not suffice, to discredit so unreasonable an opinion. But the Cartesian argument has been so prevalent among many learned and ingenious men, that it will be worth while (if it be but to excite better pens) to spend some time in the consideration of it. * * * *

I shall beg leave to premise a distinction, which, though novel, I shall venture to employ, because it comprises and distinguishes some things, which I think ought neither to be overlooked nor confounded.

I conceive, then, that when we speak of the ends which nature, or rather the author of nature, is said to have in things corporeal, one of these four things may be signified; or, if you like that expression better, the end designed by nature may be fourfold:

First, there may be some grand and general ends of the whole world; such as the exercising and displaying the creator's immense power and admirable wisdom; the communication of his goodness, and the admiration and thanks due to him from his intelligent creatures, for these his divine excellencies,

whose productions manifest his glory. And these ends, because they regard the creation of the whole universe, I call the universal ends of God, or nature.

Secondly, in a somewhat more restrained sense, there may be ends designed in the number, fabric, placing, and ways of moving the great masses of matter, that for their bulks or qualities, are considerable parts of the world; since it is very probable, that these bodies, such as the sun, moon, and fixed stars, and the terraqueous globe, and perhaps each of its two chief parts, the earth and the sea, were so framed and placed, as not only to be capable of persevering in their own present state, but also, as was most conducive to the universal ends of creation, and the good of the whole world, whereof they are notable parts. Upon which accounts, these ends may, for distinction's sake, be called cosmical or systematical, as regarding the symmetry of the great system of the world.

There is a third sort of ends, that do more peculiarly concern the parts of animals, (and probably plants too) which are those; that the particular parts of animals are destinated to and for the welfare of the whole animal himself, as he is an entire and distinct system of organized parts, destinated to preserve himself and propagate his species, upon such a theatre (as the land, water, or air,) as his structure and circumstances determine him to act his part on,

And these ends, to discriminate them from others, may be called animal ends.

Fourthly and lastly, there is another sort of ends which, because they relate particularly to man, may for brevity's sake, be called human ends; which are those that are aimed at by nature, where she is said to frame animals and vegetables, and other of her productions, for the use of man. And these ends themselves may be distinguished into mental, that relate to his mind; and corporeal, that relate to his body, not only as he is an animal, framed like other animals, for his own preservation, and the propagation of his species (mankind); but also as he is framed for dominion over other animals and works of nature, and fitted to make them subservient to the destinations, that one may suppose to have been made of them to his service and benefit. * * *

To come now to the thing itself, whereas Monsieur Des Cartes objects, that it is a presumption for man to pretend to be able to investigate the ends that the omniscient God proposed to himself in the making of his creatures; I consider by way of answer, that there are two very differing ways, wherein a man may pretend to know the ends of God in his visible works; for he may either pretend to know only some of God's ends in some of his works; or he may pretend to know all his ends. He that arrogates to himself to discover God's ends in this latter sense, will scarce be ex-

cused from a high presumption, and no less a folly, from the reason lately intimated in the Cartesian objection. But to pretend to know God's ends in the former sense, is not a presumption; but rather to take notice of them is a duty. For there are some things in nature so curiously contrived, and so exquisitely fitted for certain operations and uses, that it seems little less than blindness in him, that acknowledges with the Cartesians, a most wise author of things, not to conclude, that though they may have been designed for other (and perhaps higher) uses, yet they were designed for this use. As he, that sees the admirable fabric of the coats, humours, and muscles of the eyes, and how excellently all the parts are adapted to the making up of an organ of vision, can scarce forbear to believe, that the author of nature intended it should serve the animal to which it belongs, to see with. The Epicureans, indeed, that believe the world to have been produced but by the casual concourse of atoms, without the intervention of any intelligent being, may have a kind of excuse, whereof other philosophers are destitute, that acknowledge a deity, if not also a providence. For the very supposition, for instance, that a man's eyes were made by chance, argues, that they need have no relation to a designing agent; and the use that a man makes of them, may be either casual too, or at least may be an effect

of his knowledge, not of nature's. But when, upon the anatomical dissection of the optical consideration of a human eye, we use it as exquisitely fitted to be an organ of sight, as the best artificer in the world could have framed a little engine, purposely and mainly designed for the use of seeing; it is very harsh and incongruous to say, that an artificer, who is too intelligent either to do things by chance, or to make a curious piece of workmanship, without knowing what uses it is fit for, should not design it for an use to which it is most fit. * * * *

He further illustrates this idea in the following manner:

Suppose that a countryman, being in a clear day brought into the garden of some famous mathematician, should see there one of those curious gnomonic instruments that shew at once the place of the sun in the zodiac, his declination from the equator, the day of the month, the length of the day, &c. It would, indeed, be presumption in him, being unacquainted with the mathematical disciplines, and the several intentions of the artist, to pretend or think himself able to discover all the ends for which curious and elaborate a piece was framed; when he sees it furnished with a style, with lines and numbers, and, in short, with all quisites of a sun-dial, and manifestly perce

shadow to mark, from time to time, the hour of the day, it would be no more a presumption than an error in him to conclude, that, (whatever other uses the instrument is fit or was designed for) it is a sun-dial, that was meant to shew the hour of the day.

He afterwards says:

I readily admit, that in physics, we should indeed ground all things upon as solid reasons as may be had; but I see no necessity, that those reasons should be always precisely physical; especially if we be treating, not of any particular phenomenon that is produced according to the course of nature established in the world, already constituted as this of ours is; but of the first and general causes of the world itself; from which causes, I see not why the final causes or uses, that appear manifestly enough to have been designed, should be excluded. And to me, it is not very material, whether or no in physics, or any other discipline, a thing be proved by the peculiar principles of that science or discipline, provided it be firmly proved by the common grounds of reason. And on this occasion, let me observe, that the fundamental tenets of Des Cartes's own philosophy are not by himself proved by arguments strictly physical, but either by metaphysical ones, or the more catholic dictates of reason, or the particular testimonies of experience. For, when for

instance, he truly ascribes to God all the motion that is found in matter, and consequently all the variety of phenomena that occur in the world; he proves not, by an argument precisely physical, that God, who is an immaterial agent, is the efficient cause of motion in matter; but only by this, that since motion does not belong to the essence and nature of matter, matter must owe the motion it has to some other being; and then it is most agreeable to common reason to infer, that since matter cannot move itself, but it must be moved by some other being, that being must be immaterial, since otherwise some matter must be able to move itself, contrary to the hypothesis.

38. *Medicina Hydrostatica;* or, Hydrostatics applied to the Materia Medica; shewing how, by the weight that divers bodies used in physic have in water, one may discover whether they be genuine or adulterate. To which is subjoined, a previous hydrostatical way of estimating ores, 1690.

39. The Christian Virtuoso; shewing that by being addicted to experimental philosophy,

a man is rather assisted than indisposed to be a good Christian. The first part; to which are subjoined, 1. A Discourse about the Distinction that represents some things as above Reason, but not contrary to Reason; 2. The first chapters of a Discourse, entitled, Greatness of Mind promoted by Christianity, 1690.—In the advertisement prefixed to this work, he speaks of a "second part" of the "Christian Virtuoso," as already begun; and which was afterwards published in the last edition of his works, with an appendix to the first part.

40. An Account of some Observations made in the great Congregation of Waters, by lowering Bottles down into the Sea, six hundred feet deep from the Surface, 1690.

41. The last work published in his life-time was, *Experimata et Observationes Physicæ*, wherein are briefly treated of several subjects relating to natural philosophy, in an experimental way. To which is added, a small Collection of Strange Reports.—This was called in the title page, the *first part;* and among his papers were found the *second* and *third* parts, though it is doubtful whether these were complete, 1691.

The following works were published after his death.

1. The General History of the Air, designed and begun.

2. Medicinal Experiments; or, a Collection of Choice Remedies, for the most part simple, and easily prepared.

3. General Heads for the Natural History of a Country, great or small, drawn out for the Use of Travellers and Navigators. To which are added, other Directions for Navigators, &c. with particular Observations of the most noted Countries in the World. By another hand.

4. A Paper of the honourable Robert Boyle's, deposited with the Secretaries of the Royal Society, and opened since his death; being an account of his making the Phosphorus, &c. printed in the Philosophical Transactions.

5. An Account of a Way of examining Waters as to Freshness and Saltness, to be subjoined as an Appendix to a lately printed letter, about sweetened water; Philosophical Transactions.

6. A Free Discourse against Custom Swearing, and a Dissuasive from Cursing.

7. Medicinal Experiments; or, a Collection of Choice Remedies, chiefly simple, and easily prepared, useful in Families, and fit for the Service of Country People. The third and last volume, published from the author's original MSS. Whereunto is added several other useful notes explicatory of the same.

Boyle's works complete, were published by Dr. Birch, in five volumes folio, 1744, with his life prefixed; and reprinted in 1772, in six volumes 4to. An abridgment, however, in three volumes 4to. was published before this, and of which the second edition appeared in 1738, by Dr. Shaw; with a character of the author, and his philosophy; the whole digested under proper heads, and illustrated with notes.

Boyle has been styled the author of the "New or Experimental Philosophy." But it should always be recollected, that Bacon pointed out the way; and that the merit of Boyle consists in his having the judgment to adopt those principles of enquiry before laid down by his illustrious predecessor, and in the extent and unwonted ardour of his researches. It is remarkable, that he was born the same

year in which Bacon died; and as Hughs (Spectator, No. 554) remarks, "was the person designed by nature to succeed to the labours, and enquiries of that extraordinary genius."

BARROW.

DR. ISAAC BARROW, an eminent divine and mathematician, was born at London in 1630. He received the early part of his education at the Charter-House, and afterwards at Felstead in Essex, whence, in 1643, at the age of fourteen, he was removed to Cambridge, where he became a pensioner at Peter-House. Here he was placed under the tuition of his uncle, Mr. Isaac Barrow, then fellow of that college, and afterwards bishop of St. Asaph. Two years after he entered a pensioner of Trinity College; and in 1647 was chosen scholar of the house.

At this period, though he was by no means negligent of general literature, his most ardent attention was paid to the physical sciences. Disgusted, however, with the perplexing and

unprofitable philosophy of the schools, he applied himself to the study of the writings of Bacon, Des Cartes, Galileo, &c. and thus laid the foundation of his philosophic fame.

In 1648, he proceeded batchelor of arts, and the year following was elected fellow of his college. Barrow was a royalist; and conceiving the chances of preferment, either in church or state, much against men of his sentiments, he resolved to study physic, and accordingly made considerable progress in the sciences of anatomy, botany, and chemistry; though at the instance of his uncle he afterwards resumed theology. In 1652, he took the degree of master, and the year following was incorporated in that degree at Oxford.

Disappointed in an expectation of obtaining the Greek professorship, he determined to travel; and in 1655, set out for France, whence he proceeded to Italy, stopping some time at Florence, where he had an opportunity of perusing several books in the great duke's library. In November 1656, he took ship at Leghorn for Smyrna, whence he proceeded to Constantinople. Here he read the works of St. Chrysostom, once bishop of that

see, whom he preferred to all the other fathers. Having continued in Turkey above a year, he returned to Venice; and in 1659, to his own country, through Germany and Holland.

He now took orders, and in 1660, was elected Greek professor of the university of Cambridge. The year following he took the degree of batchelor in divinity; and in 1662 was elected professor of geometry in Gresham College. Not long after, he was offered a valuable living; but on the condition of teaching the patron's son. This, to his susceptible conscience, bordered too closely upon a simoniacal contract, and he refused it. In 1663, he was elected fellow of the Royal Society, being the first choice made by the council after their charter; and the same year was appointed first professor to a mathematical lecture founded by Mr. Lucas, who, for the more certain attainment of the objects of the institution, provided that ten written lectures should be annually left to the university, both by himself and his successors. Of this professorship, he afterwards made a voluntary resignation to his illustrious friend sir Isaac Newton. After this he devoted himself entirely to theological studies; and in 1670, was created doctor of divinity by

mandate. Two years after, he was appointed by the king master of Trinity College; on which occasion his majesty observed, that he had given it to the best scholar in England. Prior to this, however, he was one of the king's chaplains. In 1675, he was chosen vice-chancellor of the university. He died on the 4th of May 1677.

Dr. Barrow was a voluminous writer. Of his works, some were published in his life-time, and others after his death. Of the former, which are in Latin, and on mathematical subjects, the following is a tolerably correct list:

1. *Euclidis Elementa;* i. e. Euclid's Elements, 1655, Cambridge, 8vo. There were several other editions of this book, which comprises *all* the books of Euclid, demonstrated in a more compendious manner than had been before done. It was afterwards translated into English, and published at London, 1660, &c. 8vo.

2. *Euclidis Data;* Euclid's *Data;* 8vo. 1657, Cambridge. In some following editions, this was subjoined to the elements.

3. *Lectionis Opticæ* 18, *Cantabrigiæ in Scholis Publicis Habitæ, in quibus Opticorum Phæ-*

nomenon Genuina Rationes Investigantur et Exponuntur; 4to. 1669, London. We are informed in the preface that Mr. Isaac Newton revised the copy, suggested several corrections, and made some additions of his own: An account of this book may be found in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 75, p. 2258, for September, 1671.

4. *Lectiones Geometricæ* 13, *in quibus Præsertim Generalia Linearum Curvarum Symptomata Declarantur,* 4to. 1670, London. An account of this book is inserted in the abovementioned Transaction, p. 2260; with an addition of some Corollaries, communicated by the author, belonging to the second problem of his Third Appendix to the Twelfth Lecture. These lectures were first printed separately from the former upon optics; but afterwards, in the years 1672 and 1674, were published with them, though without the Corollaries just mentioned; whence it is probable they were not reprinted, but had only a new title-page prefixed.

5. *Archimedis Opera, Apollonii Conicorum Libri Quatuor; Theodosii Spærica, Methodo novo illustrata, et succincte demonstrata,* 4to. 1675, London. In the preface to this book,

we are told, that the *Lemmata* of Archimedes contained in it, now appear in Latin from two translations; the one by the learned John Gravius, published in 1659, with some animadversions by Mr. Samuel Foster, professor of astronomy at Gresham College; the other by Abraham Ecchellensis, published at Florence, with notes by the celebrated mathematician Alphonsus Borellus. An account of this work may be seen in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 114, p. 314, May, 1675. And the copy of all the books of Archimedes published in it, except the second book, *De Æquiponderantibus*, the two books *De Insidentibus Humido*, the *Lemmata*, and the book, *De Arenæ Numero*, written in Dr. Barrow's own hand, in one octavo volume, and the four books of Apollonius in another volume in quarto, are reposited in the royal society.

His posthumous works in Latin were the following:

1. *Lectio in quâ Theoremata Archimedis de Sphærâ et Cylindro, per Methodum Indivisibilium investigata, ac breviter demonstrata exhibentur*, 12mo. 1678, London. This book, however, was written in English; but some time after the author's death, was translated

into Latin, and subjoined to the editions of Euclid's *Elementa* and *Data*.

2. *Mathematicæ Lectiones Habitæ in Scholis Publicis Academiæ Cantabrigiensis*, 1664-5-6, London, 1683, 8vo. These were a part of his Lucasian Lectures; to which the editor, Mr. Wells, has prefixed the author's *Oratio Præfatoria*, delivered at the opening of them.

3. His English works, which are also posthumous, were published in 1685, in three volumes folio, by Dr. Tillotson, then dean, and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury. There were several subsequent editions, of which the last was in 1741. I shall not pretend to give a particular account of these works, which consist for the most part of sermons, but only observe, that for the learning and good sense which pervade them, they have preserved their repute even to modern times.

4. There is a fourth volume however of Barrow's works, printed after the foregoing, in 1687, folio, London. The contents of this volume are partly in Latin and partly in English. The title is, *Isaaci Barrow, S.S.T. Professoris Opuscula, viz. Determinationes, Conciones ad Clerum Poemata, &c. volumen quartum.* The *Dissertatiuncula de Sestertio*, p. 356,

was reprinted the same year in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 190, p. 383.

5. There are two letters written by Dr. Barrow to Mr. Willoughby, printed in the Philosophical Letters between Mr. Ray and his correspondents, p. 360, 362, upon the following subjects. The former, dated March 26, 1662, contains "the method whereby Mons. Robervell was said to have demonstrated the equality of a spiral line with a parabola." In this letter he signifies his intention of reading lectures upon Archimedes' *De Æquiponderantibus;* whether he afterwards put this design in execution is uncertain. In the latter, dated October 5, 1665, he approves Mr. Willoughby's "Discourse, inferring the Solidity of the Sphere from the Surface, by comparing the Concentrical Surfaces of the Sphere, with the Parallel Arches of the Cone," and informs him of his own method of doing it.

In addition to the foregoing works, there are several curious papers of Dr. Barrow, written in his own hand, and communicated by William Jones, esq. to the author of the Lives of the Professors of Gresham College.

1. A Latin volume in quarto, in which are contained, 1. *Compendium pro Tangentibus.*

2. *Æquationum Constructio per Conicas Sectiones.* 3. *Æquationum Constructio Geometrica.* 4. *Additamenta de Curvis.* These tracts appear to have been written before his Geometrical Lectures.

2. *Theorema Generale ad Lineis Curvis Tangentes, et Curvarum Figurarum Areas, per Motum Determinandas.*

3. Letters to Mr. John Collins, upon various mathematical subjects; viz. 1. Concerning Parabolical Conoids; without date. 2. Rectifying a Mistake of Mr. Collins, concerning the Parallel Sections of the Cubical Parabolical Conoid; without date. 3. Rules to compute the Portions of a Sphere or Spheroid. Sept. 5, 1664.

4. A Character of Mengolus's *Elementa Geometriæ Speciosæ*, with whom he is displeased for his affectation of new definitions, and uncouth terms. Nov. 12, 1664.

5. He thanks him for a catalogue of mathematical books, which he sent him; gives a character of Alsted's *Admiranda Mathematica*, which he thinks a work of no great importance. Nov. 29, 1664.

6. Concerning a Parabolical Conoid cut parallel to the Axis. Jan. 9, 1665.

7. About printing his Archimedes, Apollonius, and Theodosius; as also a new edition of his Euclid. March 3, 1665.

8. Concerning the Area of the Common Hyperbola, found by Logarithms. Feb. 1, 1666.

9. Containing a variety of rules relating to the Circle and Hyperbola, with Theorems concerning the Curve Surfaces of Conoids and Speroids. March 6, 1667.

10. A continuation of nearly the same subject. March 26, 1668.

11. A farther continuation of the same subject. May 14, 1668.

12. Concerning the *Linea Secantium;* with two papers, one of the figure of Secants and Tangents, applied to the Arch or Radius; the other concerning the Cissoidal Space. March 13, 1668.

13. Concerning the publication of his *Lectiones Opticæ.* Easter-eve, 1669.

14. Sends him some few things to be inserted in his *Lectiones Geometricæ,* which were then printing. March 29, 1670.

15. Concerning the publication of those Lectures. April 23, 1670.

16. Sends him his Apollonius, and Perspective Lectures. Oct. 11, 1670.

Of Wit.

First it may be demanded what the thing we speak of is, or what this facetiousness doth import? To which question I might reply as Democritus did to him that asked the definition of a man; "'Tis that which we all see and know." Any one better apprehends what it is by acquaintance than I can inform him by description. It is indeed a thing so versatile and multiform, appearing in so many shapes, so many postures, so many garbs, so variously apprehended by several eyes and judgments, that it seemeth no less hard to settle a clear and certain notion thereof, than to make a portrait of Proteus, or to define the figure of the fleeting air. Sometimes it lieth in pat allusion to a known story, or in seasonable application of a trivial saying, or in forging an apposite tale: sometimes it playeth in words and phrases, taking advantage from the ambiguity of their sense, or the affinity of their sound. Sometimes it is wrapped in a dress of humorous expression; sometimes it lurketh under an odd similitude; sometimes it is lodged in a sly question, in a smart answer, in a quirkish reason, in a shrewd intimation,

in cunningly diverting, or cleverly retorting an objection: sometimes it is couched in a bold scheme of speech; in a tart irony; in a lusty hyperbole; in a startling metaphor; in a plausible reconciling of contradictions, or in acute nonsense: sometimes a scenical representation of persons or things; a counterfeit speech; a mimical look or gesture passeth for it: sometimes an affected simplicity, sometimes a presumptuous bluntness giveth it being: sometimes it riseth only from a lucky hitting upon what is strange; sometimes from a crafty wrestling obvious matter to the purpose: often it consists in one knows not what, and springeth up one can hardly tell how. Its ways are unaccountable and inexplicable, being answerable to the numberless rovings of fancy and windings of language. It is, in short, a manner of speaking out of the simple and plain way (such as reason teacheth and proveth things by) which by a pretty surprizing uncouthness in conceit or expression doth affect and amuse the fancy, stirring in it some wonder, and breeding some delight thereto. It raiseth admiration, as signifying a nimble sagacity of apprehension, a special felicity of invention, a vivacity of spirit, and reach of wit more than vulgar. It seemeth to argue a rare quickness of parts, that one can fetch in remote conceits applicable; a notable skill, that he can dexterously accommodate them to the purpose before him, together with a lively brisk-

bent of humour, not apt to damp those ingenuous flashes of imagination. Whence in Aristotle such persons are termed ευτροπιοι, dexterous men; and ευτροποι, men of facile or versatile manners, who can easily turn themselves to all things, or turn all things to themselves. It also procureth delight, by gratifying curiosity with its rareness or semblance of difficulty; as monsters, not for their beauty, but their rarity; as juggling tricks, not for their use, but their abstruseness, are beheld with pleasure; by diverting the mind from its road of serious thoughts; by instilling gaiety and airiness of spirit; by provoking to such dispositions of spirit in way of emulation or complaisance; and by seasoning matters, otherwise distasteful or insipid, with an unusual, and thence grateful tang.

The sermons of Dr. Barrow were of an unusual length, even for the time in which he lived. He seldom employed less than an hour and a half in delivering a discourse; and on one occasion in particular, he preached a charity sermon at the Spital, before the lord mayor and aldermen, which lasted three hours and a half. Being asked, on descending from the pulpit, whether he was not tired,

he replied; "Yes indeed, I began to be weary with standing so long."

Being chaplain to Charles II. his majesty was accustomed facetiously to style him an *unfair preacher;* because he exhausted every subject, and left nothing to be said by others. He does indeed view his subject in a great variety of lights. There is always an abundance of thoughts, and thoughts, to the justness of which, taken separately, we in general feel little difficulty in assenting; but we are hurried from flower to flower too rapidly to have time to imbibe the honey to be derived from each; the multitude of objects which are crowded upon us distracts the attention, and having surveyed the whole, we can settle upon none. I do not mean to say, there are not many admirable passages in Barrow. The above definition of wit is probably the most wonderful passage to be met with in any language. A certain portion of fancy, perhaps, it would be unjust to deny him; but it is by no means the general characteristic of his writings; and he has not a particle of that higher degree of it, which we usually denominate imagination. Barrow was undoubtedly a man of a powerful understanding. In the mathematical sciences

he was only inferior to Newton; but his mind was too early preoccupied, not to say absorbed, by mathematical studies, for him afterwards to acquire that peculiar delicacy of tact, essential to the successful contemplation of moral phenomena.

I shall conclude these few remarks, by noticing a memorable observation of Dr. Barrow, which will serve to characterise at once the intellectual and the moral constitution of his mind. It is, that "A strait line is the shortest in morals as well as in geometry."

BUNYAN.

JOHN BUNYAN, the well-known author of the Pilgrim's Progress, was born at Elstow, within a mile of Bedford, 1628. His origin was very humble, his father being a tinker; in which occupation himself was also brought up. In his early years he seemed to manifest an inherent depravity, and was particularly addicted to cursing and swearing. But being reclaimed (as he says himself) by a voice from heaven, he began to read the Scriptures with great zeal, and soon became as remarkable for enthusiastic piety as he had been before for vulgar profaneness. In the year 1671, he became pastor of a Calvinistic congregation at Bedford. He died at the age of sixty, in 1688.

The most complete edition of Bunyan's works is that of Mr. George Whitefield, in two volumes folio, 1767; and the most considerable pieces in this collection are:

1. Grace abounding to the chief of Sinners, in a faithful account of the Life of John Bunyan.

2. The Doctrine of the Law and Grace unfolded, or a Discourse touching the Law and Grace.

3. The Pilgrim's Progress, in two parts.

4. The Jerusalem Sinner saved.

5. The Heavenly Footman; or a Description of the Man that gets to Heaven. Together with the Way he runs in, the Marks he goes by. Also some directions how to run so as to obtain.

6. Solomon's Temple spiritualized.

7. A Discourse upon the Pharisee and Publican.

8. The Life and Death of Mr. Badman. It is in the form of dialogue; and contains the different stages of a wicked man's life, and an account of his miserable death.

9. The Barren Fig-tree; or, the Doom and Downfall of the fruitless Professor.

10. One Thing is Needful; or, Serious Me-

ditations upon the four last things, Death, Judgment, Heaven, and Hell.

10. The Holy War, made by Shaddai upon Diabolus, for regaining the Metropolis of the World; or the losing and taking again of the Town of Mansoul.

12. A Discourse of the House of the Forest of Lebanon.

13. Christian Behaviour, being the Fruits of true Christianity.

14. A Discourse touching Prayer.

15. The Strait Gate; or great Difficulty of going to Heaven.

16. The Holy City, or New Jerusalem.

17. Divine Emblems.

In the Heavenly Footman, (article the fifth) is the following curious passage:

They that will have heaven, they must run for it; because the devil, the law, sin, death, and hell, followeth them. There is never a poor soul that is going to heaven, but the devil, the law, sin, death, and hell, make after that soul. The devil your adversary, as a roaring lion, goeth about, seeking whom he may devour. And I will assure you the devil is nimble; he can run apace; he is light of foot; he hath overtaken many; he hath turned up their heels,

and hath given them an everlasting fall. Also the law can shoot a great way; have a care thou keep out of the reach of those great guns, the ten commandments.

Bunyan complains of being grievously calumniated.

What the devil (says he,) could devise, and his instruments invent, was whirled up and down the country against me, thinking that by that means they should make my ministry to be abandoned. It began, therefore, to be rumoured up and down, among the people, that I was a witch, a jesuit, a highwayman, and the like. To all which I shall only say, God knows that I am innocent. But that which was reported with the boldest confidence, was, that I had my misses, my whores, my bastards, yea, two wives at once, and the like. Now these slanders, with the other, I glory in, because but slanders, foolish or knavish lies, and falsehoods, cast upon me by the devil and his seed. And should I not be dealt with thus wickedly by the world, I should want one sign of a saint, and a child of God. Matt. v. 10, 11. My foes have missed their mark in this their shooting at me. I am not the man. I wish that they themselves be guiltless. If all the fornicators and adulterers in England were hanged

up by the neck till they be dead, John Bunyan, the object of their envy, would be still alive and well. I know not whether there be such a thing as a woman breathing under the face of heaven, but by their apparel, their children, or by common fame, except my wife. And in this I admire the wisdom of God, that he made me shy of women, from my first conversion until now. Those know and can also bear me witness, with whom I have been most intimately concerned, that it is a rare thing to see me carry it pleasant towards a woman. The common salutation of women I abhor. It is odious to me in whomsoever I see it. Their company alone I cannot away with. I seldom so much as touch a woman's hand; for I think these things not so becoming me. When I have seen good men salute those women that they have visited, or that have visited them, I have at times made my objection against it; and when they have answered, that it was but a piece of civility, I have told them it is not a comely sight. Some, indeed, have urged the holy kiss. But then I have asked why they made baulks? Why they did salute the most handsome, and let the ill-favoured go? Thus, how laudable soever such things may have been in the eyes of others, they have been unseemly in my sight.

Bunyan is said to have written books equal

to the number of his years; viz. sixty; but as many of them are on similar subjects, they are consequently very much alike. The Pilgrim's Progress, (his master-piece) which contains a considerably accurate specimen of Calvinistic divinity, is an allegory carried on with much ingenuity; the characters are well drawn and well supported. There are also, in spite of his vulgarity, frequent symptoms of poetical talent, far from despicable. The talents, as well as the character of Bunyan, have encountered much ridicule; but if we consider the circumstances of his birth and education, together with the times in which he lived, that ridicule will probably be found without a solid foundation. His "Pilgrim's Progress," and his "Holy War," are too well known to require a specimen.

TEMPLE.

Sir William Temple, an eminent statesman and writer, sprang from a younger branch of the same stock with sir Richard Temple, lord viscount and baron Cobham, who traced his genealogy as far back as Leoric, or Leofric, earl of Chester, in the time of Ethelbald, *anno* 710. He was born in London, 1628; had his school-education at Pensehurst, in Kent, and at Bishop Stortford in Hertfordshire; and at the age of seventeen entered Emanuel College, Cambridge, under the learned Dr. Cudworth, then fellow of that college.

After spending about two years at the university, he commenced his travels; and in 1648, set out for France, where he continued two years, when he proceeded to Holland, Flanders, and Germany; and during his tour

became a complete master of the French and Spanish languages. Returning in 1654, he married and lived in privacy during the protectorate, under which government he rejected all solicitations to accept of employment, but at the restoration, in 1660, he was chosen member of the convention in Ireland, and distinguished himself by his spirited opposition to the poll-tax.

He was afterwards sent by Charles II. on a commission to the bishop of Munster, which he executed with such satisfaction to the king, that he sent him a commission to take the character of resident at Brussels, with a patent for a baronet. Making an excursion to Holland, he visited, at the Hague, De Wit, which was the foundation of their future intimacy. On the breaking out of a war between France and Spain, Brussels being in danger, he returned privately to England, called on De Wit again in his way, and now, pursuant to his instructions, proposed those overtures which produced the triple alliance; and on his return from the English court, January 16, 1668, invested with the character of ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Holland, the treaty was concluded. His subse-

quent public employments were numerous; but as they are known from general history, it were needless to mention them here. I shall therefore simply observe, that after refusing the office of secretary of state, he accepted a place at the council board; but discovering eventually that Charles determined to govern without his parliament, he quitted the court in disgust, and retired to his house at Sheen, near Richmond, in Surry, whence he sent by his son a message to his majesty, stating, that "he would pass the rest of his life as good a subject as any in his kingdoms, but would never more meddle with public affairs."

From this period, he lived so retired a life, that the transactions which brought about the revolution, were unknown to him. After the abdication of James, the prince of Orange also pressed him to become secretary of state, but did not prevail. He died in 1698, at a small seat called Moor-park, near Farnham in Surry, where his heart was buried in a silver box, under a sun-dial in the garden, agreeably to the tenor of his will.

His works are well known, and have been often published, both separately and collectively. I select the following specimen.

Of Heroic Virtue.

Among all the endowments of nature, or improvements of art wherein men have excelled and distinguished themselves most in the world, there are two only that have had the honour of being called divine, and of giving that esteem or appellation to such as possessed them in very eminent degrees; which are, heroic virtue, and poetry: for prophecy cannot be esteemed any excellency of nature or of art, but wherever it is true, is an immediate gift of God, and bestowed according to his pleasure, and upon subjects of the meanest capacity; upon women or children, or even things inanimate; as the stones placed in the high priest's breast-plate, which were a sacred oracle among the Jews.

I will leave poetry to an essay by itself, and dedicate this only to that antiquated shrine of heroic virtue, which, however forgotten, or unknown in latter ages, must yet be allowed to have produced in the world the advantages most valued among men, and which most distinguish their understandings, and their lives, from the rest of their fellow-creatures.

Though it be easier to describe heroic virtue by the effects and examples, than by causes or definitions; yet it may be said to arise from some great and native excellency of temper or genius, transcending the common race of mankind, in wisdom, good-

ness, and fortitude. These ingredients, advantaged by birth, improved by education, and assisted by fortune, seem to make that noble composition, which gives such a lustre to those who have possessed it, as made them appear to common eyes something more than mortals, and to have been born of some mixture between divine and human race; to have been honoured and obeyed in their lives, and after their deaths bewailed and adored.

The greatness of their wisdom appeared in the excellency of their inventions; and these, by the goodness of their nature, were turned and exercised upon such subjects as were of general good to mankind in the common uses of life, or to their own countries in the institutions of such laws, orders, or governments, as were of most ease, safety, and advantage, to civil-society. Their valour was employed in defending their own countries from the violence of ill men at home, or enemies abroad; in reducing their barbarous neighbours to the same forms and orders of civil lives and institutions, or in relieving others from the cruelties and oppressions of tyranny and violence. These are all comprehended in three verses of Virgil describing the blessed seat in Elysium, and those that enjoyed them.

Hic manus ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi,
Inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artes,
Quique sui memores alios fecere merendo.

Here such as for their country wounds received,
Or, who by arts invented life improv'd,
Or by deserving made themselves remembered.—

And, indeed, the character of heroic virtue seem to be, in short, the deserving well of mankind. Where this is chief in design, and great in success, the pretence to a hero lies very fair; and can never be allowed without it.

I have said, that this excellency of genius must be native, because it can never grow to any great height, if it be only acquired or affected; but it must be ennobled by birth, to give it more lustre, esteem, and authority; it must be cultivated by education and instruction, to improve its growth, and direct its end and application; and it must be assisted by fortune, to preserve it to maturity; because the noblest spirit or genius in the world, if it falls, though never so bravely, in its first enterprises, cannot deserve enough of mankind, to pretend to so great a reward as the esteem of heroic virtue. And yet, perhaps, many a person has died in the first battle or adventure he atchieved, and lies buried in silence and oblivion, who, had he outlived as many dangers as Alexander did, might have shined as bright in honour and fame. Now since so many stars go to the making up of this constellation, 'tis no wonder it has so seldom appeared in the world;

nor that, when it does, it is received and followed with so much gazing, and so much veneration.

Among the simpler ages or generations of men, in several countries, those who were the first inventors of arts generally received and applauded as most necessary or useful to human life, were honoured alive, and after death worshipped as gods. And so were those who had been the first authors of any good and well-instituted civil government in any country, by which the native inhabitants were reduced from savage and brutish lives, to the safety and convenience of societies, the enjoyment of property, the observance of orders, and the obedience of laws; which were followed by security, plenty, civility, riches, industry, and all kinds of arts. The evident advantages and common benefits of these sorts of institutions, made people generally inclined at home to obey such governors, the neighbour nations to esteem them, and thereby willingly enter into their protection, or easily yield to the force of their arms and prowess. Thus conquests began to be made in the world, and upon the same designs of reducing barbarous nations unto civil and well-regulated constitutions and governments, and subduing those by force to obey them, who refused to accept willingly the advantages of life or condition that were thereby offered them. Such persons of old, who excelling in those virtues, were attended by these fortunes, and made great and famous con-

quests, and left them under good constitutions of laws and governments; or who instituted excellent and lasting orders and frames of any political state, in what compass soever of country, or under what names soever of civil government, were obeyed as princes or law-givers in their own times, and were called in after-ages by the name of heroes.

From these sources, I believe, may be deduced all or most of the theology or idolatry of all the ancient pagan countries, within the compass of the four great empires, so much renowned in story; and perhaps of some others, as great in their constitutions, and as extended in their conquests, though not so much celebrated or observed by learned men.

TILLOTSON.

JOHN TILLOTSON, archbishop of Canterbury, was descended from the Tilsons of Tilson, in Cheshire, and born in 1630. His father being a rigid Puritan and Calvinist, was anxious to instil his own principles into the mind of his son, and, with this view, sent him in 1647, to Clare Hall, Cambridge, under the tuition of Mr. David Clarkson, an eminent presbyterian divine. He continued at college two years after having taken his degrees in arts.

He now became tutor to Edmund Prideaux, esq. of Ford Abbey in Devonshire, Cromwell's attorney-general; in which family he also officiated as chaplain, though without ordination, agreeably to the principles of the times. Being

in London at the death of the protector, in 1658, he was present, from his situation, at a scene in Whitehall, where the conduct of some leading divines of his own persuasion gave him insuperable disgust; and after the restoration, he took occasion to be episcopally ordained. Adhering still, however, to the presbyterians, he was deprived of his fellowship at Clare Hall. In 1661, he complied with the act of uniformity, and was appointed curate to Dr. Thomas Hacket, vicar of Cheshunt in Hertfordshire; and the year following, was elected minister of St. Mary, Aldermanbury; but this he refused, because the vacancy had been occasioned by the refusal of Calamy to comply with the act. Yet, the year following, he accepted the rectory of Ketton, or Kedington, in Suffolk, which was similarly circumstanced. He afterwards became preacher to the society of Lincoln's Inn; and some time after, Tuesday-lecturer of St. Lawrence, Jewry.

About 1663-4, he began to be suspected of an inclination towards the establishment. In 1666, he took his doctor's degree, and early the year following, engaged warmly in the project of effecting an accommodation with the non-conformists, then brought forward by sir

Orlando Bridgeman, lord keeper of the great seal; a scheme he never entirely abandoned. In 1669, the king appointed him one of his chaplains, and gave him a prebend in the cathedral church of Canterbury, in which church he was soon advanced to the deanery, and in 1675, was presented with a prebend in St. Paul's Church. After the revolution, he obtained from king William the deanery of St. Paul's. He was elevated in 1690 to the see of Canterbury; and died in 1694.

The Sermons of archbishop Tillotson are his principal compositions, and are comprized in three bulky folio volumes. The twentieth sermon, on the subject of Charity, contains some general moral observations relative to the theological differences of the times, and will serve to shew his views on the subject of the accommodation he so much desired. The sermon was preached at the first general meeting of the gentlemen and others in and near London, born within the county of York; and to them it is dedicated: the author wishing, "that it may be someway serviceable to the healing our unhappy differences, and the restoring of unity and charity among Christians, especially those of the Protestant reformed religion."

Give me leave * * to recommend to you, this new commandment, that ye love one another; which is almost a new commandment still, and hardly the worse for wearing; so seldom is it put on, and so little hath it been practised among Christians for several ages.

Consider seriously with yourselves; ought not the great matters wherein we are agreed, our union in the doctrines of the Christian religion, and in all the necessary articles of that faith *which was once delivered to the saints*, in the same sacraments, and in all the substantial parts of God's worship, and in the great duties and virtues of the Christian life, to be of greater force to unite us, than difference in doubtful opinions, and in little rites and circumstances of worship, to divide and break us?

Are not the things, about which we differ, in their nature indifferent? that is, things about which there ought to be no difference among wise men? are they not at a great distance from the essence of religion, and rather good or bad as they tend to the peace and unity of the church, or are made use of to schism and faction, than either necessary or evil in themselves? And shall little scruples weigh so far with us, as by breaking the peace of the church about them, to endanger our whole religion? Shall we take one another by the throat for a hundred pence, when our common adversary

stands ready to clap upon us an action of ten thousand talents? Can we in good earnest be contented that rather than the surplice should not be thrown out, popery should come in; and rather than receive the sacrament in the humble, but indifferent posture of kneeling, to swallow the camel of transubstantiation, and adore the elements of bread and wine for our God and Saviour? and rather than to submit to a set form of prayer, to have the service of God performed in an unknown tongue?

Are we not yet made sensible, at least in this our day, by so clear a demonstration as the providence of God hath lately given us; and had not he been infinitely merciful to us, might have proved the dearest and most dangerous experiment that ever was: I say, are we not yet convinced, what mighty advantages our enemies have made of our divisions, and what a plentiful harvest they have had among us, during our differences, and upon occasion of them; and how near their religion was to have entered in upon us at once, at those wide breaches which we had made for it? And will we still take counsel of our enemies, and choose to follow that course, to which, of all other, they who hate us and seek our ruin, would certainly advise and direct us? Will we freely offer them that advantage which they would be contented to purchase at any rate?

Let us, after all our sad experience, at last take

warning to keep a stedfast eye upon our chief enemy, and not suffer ourselves to be diverted from the consideration and regard of our greatest danger, by the petty provocations of our friends; so I choose to call those who dissent from us in lesser matters, because I would fain have them so, and they ought in all reason to be so: but, however they behave themselves, we ought not much to mind those who only fling dirt at us, whilst we are sure there are others who fly at our throats, and strike at our very hearts.

Let us learn this wisdom of our enemies, who, though they have many great differences among themselves, yet they have made a shift at this time to unite together to destroy us: and shall not we do as much to save ourselves?

———*fas est et ab hoste doceri.*

It was a principle among the ancient Romans, a brave and a wise people, *donare inimicitias reipublicæ*, to give up and sacrifice their private enmities and quarrels to the public good, and the safety of the commonwealth. And is it not to every considerate man as clear as the sun at noon-day, that nothing can maintain and support the Protestant religion amongst us, and found our church *upon a rock; so that when the rain falls, and the winds blow, and the floods*

beat upon it, it shall stand firm and unshaken: that nothing can be a bulwark of sufficient force to resist all the arts and attempts of popery, but *an established national religion*, firmly united and compacted in all the parts of it? Is it not plain to every eye, that little sects and separate congregations can never do it? but will be like a foundation of sand to a weighty building, which, whatever shew it may make, cannot stand long, because it wants union at the foundation, and for that reason must necessarily want strength, and firmness.

It is not fit for private persons to undertake in matters of public concernment; but I think we have no cause to doubt but the governors of our church, (notwithstanding all the advantages of authority, and we think of reason too on our side) are persons of that piety and prudence, that for peace sake, and in order to a firm union among Protestants, they would be content, if that would do it, not to insist upon little things; but to yield them up, whether to the infirmity or importunity, or perhaps in some very few things, to the plausible exceptions of those who differ from us.

But then surely, on the other side, men ought to bring along with them a peaceable disposition, and a mind ready to comply with the church in which they were born and baptised, in all reasonable and

lawful things; and desirous upon any terms that are tolerable, to return to the communion of it; a mind free from passion and prejudice, from peevish exceptions, and groundless and endless scruples; not apt to insist upon little cavils and objections, to which the very best things, and the greatest and the clearest truths in the world, are and always will be liable: and whatever they have been heretofore, to be *henceforth no more children tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the slight of men, and cunning craftiness of those who lie in wait to deceive.*

And if we were thus affected on all hands, we might yet be a happy church and nation. If we would govern ourselves by these rules, and walk according to them, *peace* would be *upon us, and mercy, and on the Israel of God.*

Tillotson was very eminent as a preacher in his day, and his sermons have been deservedly proposed to divines and other writers, as models of correct and elegant composition. They were the only property he left his family; but the prodigious sum obtained for them, gives us occasion to wonder at the

high price of sermons in those days. The copy-right was sold for two thousand five hundred guineas—equal at least to three times the sum in modern money.

BURNET (THOMAS,)

WAS born at Croft in Yorkshire, though in what particular year is unknown. After receiving the rudiments of his education at North Alveston in that county, he was admitted, in 1651, to Clare Hall, Cambridge, under the tuition of Mr. John Tillotson, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury; but subsequently he removed to Christ College, of which house he became fellow in 1657. In 1685, he was elected master of the Charter-House in London, and soon after took orders. After the revolution, he was appointed chaplain in ordinary to king William. It is said, that he was proposed as successor to Dr. Tillotson in the see of Canterbury; but was thrown out, on a plea of the bishops, that his writings were too sceptical. His death happened in 1715.

His works are, 1. *Telluris Theoria Sacra*; or, Sacred Theory of the Earth; first published in 1680. This work was so highly admired, that he was induced, at the particular instance of Charles II. to translate it into English, or rather, to re-write it; since some of the chapters are newly modelled, and several new ones added. The English title runs thus:—"The Sacred Theory of the Earth, containing an Account of the Original of the Earth, and of all the General Changes which it hath already undergone, or is to undergo, till the Consummation of all Things: in two volumes. The two first books concerning the Deluge and concerning Paradise: the two last books concerning the Burning of the World, and concerning the New Heavens and New Earth; with a Review of the Theory, and of its Proofs; especially in reference to Scripture." To the sixth edition, published in 1726, is added, the Author's Defence of the Work from the Exceptions of Mr. Warren, and the Examination of Mr. Keil.

The sixth chapter of the first book is full of magnificent imagery. The author is describing the dissolution of the primæval world; its surface bursting asunder in a thousand parts,

and its gigantic fragments tumbling with a thundering surge into the vast and fathomless abyss beneath.

In order to understand this description, it is necessary to premise, that the primæval earth, (according to the theory of Burnet) as resulting from a state of chaotic fluidity, consisted of three different portions or *strata*, of the formation of which he gives the following conjectural explanation: When the confused and heterogeneous particles of the chaos began to separate and to coalesce into masses, agreeably to the laws of their specific gravity, the grosser particles would first sink to the centre of the earth, forming there a nucleus to the supernatant fluid. The incumbent mass would still tend to purify itself; the lighter and more *oily* particles, mounting upwards, would form a sort of pellicle on the surface of the waters, which oily pellicle would serve to receive and entangle the particles of earth and other substances descending from the regions of the air, in which they had been diffused and suspended. Thus a crust would be gradually formed on the fluid surface, and which would receive continual augmentations by the successive accretion of fresh particles, both from above and

below. We have hence three spherical layers of different matter; the ponderous central mass; the middle watery sphere; and the sphærical crust surmounting the whole, of which the exterior surface is supposed to have formed the primæval habitable world; and which was "smooth, regular, and uniform, without mountains and without a sea." From this particular structure of the earth our author explains its subsequent dissolution by water, and its present appearance.

We cannot believe (says he) but that the heat of the sun, within the space of some hundreds of years, would have reduced this earth to a considerable degree of dryness in certain parts; and also have much rarefied and exhaled the waters beneath it: and considering the structure of that globe, the exterior crust, and the waters lying round under it, both exposed to the sun, we may fitly compare it to an æolipile, or an hollow sphere with water in it, which the heat of the fire rarefies and turns into vapours and wind. The sun here is as the fire, and the exterior earth is as the shell of the æolipile, and the abyss as the water within it; now when the heat of the sun had pierced through the shell and reached the waters, it began to rarefy them, and raise them into vapours; which rarefaction made them require more space and

room than they needed before, while they lay close and quiet. And finding themselves penned in by the exterior earth, they pressed with violence against that arch, to make it yield and give way to their dilatation and eruption. So we see all vapours and exhalations enclosed within the earth, and agitated there, strive to break out, and often shake the ground with their attempts to get loose. And in the comparison we used of an æolipile, if the mouth of it be stopt that gives the vent, the water rarefied will burst the vessel with its force. And the resemblance of the earth to an egg, which we used before, holds also in this respect; for when it heats before the fire, the moisture and air within being rarefied, makes it often burst the shell. And I do the more willingly mention this last comparison, because I observe that some of the ancients, when they speak of the doctrine of the Mundane Egg, say that after a certain period of time it was broken.

But there is yet another thing to be considered in this case; for as the heat of the sun gave force to these vapours more and more, and made them more strong and violent; so, on the other hand, it also weakened more and more the arch of the earth that was to resist them, sucking out the moisture that was the cement of its parts, drying it immoderately, and chapping it in sundry places. And there being no winter then to close up and unite its parts, and re-

store the earth to its former strength and compactness, it grew more and more disposed to a dissolution. And at length, these preparations in nature being made on either side, the force of the vapours increased, and the walls weakened, which should have kept them in. When the appointed time was come, that Allwise Providence had designed for the punishment of a sinful world, the whole fabric brake, and the frame of the earth was torn in pieces, as by an earthquake; and those great portions or fragments, into which it was divided, fell down into the abyss, some in one posture, and some in another. * * * *

When the exterior earth was broke and fell into the abyss, a good part of it was covered with water by the mere depth of the abyss it fell into; and those parts of it that were higher than the abyss was deep, and consequently would stand above it in a calm water, were notwithstanding reached and overtopped by the waves, during the agitation and violent commotion of the abyss. For it is not imaginable what the commotion of the abyss would be upon this dissolution of the earth, nor to what height its waves would be thrown, when those prodigious fragments were tumbled down into it. Suppose a stone of ten thousand weight taken up into the air a mile or two, and then let fall into the middle of the ocean, I do not believe but that the dashing of the water upon that impression, would rise as high as a mountain. But

suppose a mighty rock or heap of rocks to fall from that height, or a great island, or a continent; these would expel the waters out of their places, with such a force and violence, as to fling them among the highest clouds.

'Tis incredible to what height sometimes great stones and cinders will be thrown, at the eruptions of fiery mountains; and the pressure of a great mass of earth falling into the abyss, though it be a force of another kind, could not but impel the water with so much strength as would carry it up to a great height in the air, and to the top of any thing that lay in its way, any eminency, high fragment, or new mountain; and then rolling back again, it would sweep down with it whatsoever it rushed upon, woods, buildings, living creatures, and carry them all headlong into the great gulph. Sometimes a mass of water would be quite struck off and separate from the rest, and tost through the air like a flying river; but the common motion of the waves was to climb up the hills, or inclined fragments; and then return into the valleys and deeps again, with a perpetual fluctuation, going and coming, ascending and descending, till the violence of them being spent by degrees, they settled at last in the places allotted for them; where "bounds are set that they cannot pass over, that they return not again to cover the earth."—Psal. civ. 6, 7, 8, 9.

Neither is it to be wondered, that the great tumult

of the waters, and the extremity of the deluge, lasted for some months; for besides that the first shock and commotion of the abyss was extremely violent, from the general fall of the earth, there were ever and anon some secondary ruins; or some parts of the great ruin, that were not well settled, broke again and made new commotions; and 'twas a considerable time before the great fragments that fell, and their lesser dependencies, could be so adjusted and fitted, as to rest in a firm and immoveable posture: for the props and stays whereby they leaned one upon another, or upon the bottom of the abyss, often failed, either by the incumbent weight, or the violent impulses of the water against them; and so renewed or continued the disorder and confusion of the abyss. Besides, we are to observe, that these great fragments falling hollow, they inclosed and bore down with them under their concave surface a great deal of air; and while the water compassed these fragments and overflowed them, the air could not readily get out of those prisons but by degrees, as the earth and water above would give way; so as this would also hinder the settlement of the abyss, and the retiring of the water into those subterraneous channels, for some time. But at length, when this air had found a vent, and left its place to the water and the ruins, both primary and secondary were settled and fixed; then the waters of the abyss began to settle too, and the dry

land to appear; first, the tops of the mountains, then the high grounds, then the plains and the rest of the earth. And this gradual subsidency of the abyss, (which Moses also hath particularly noted) and discovery of the several parts of the earth, would also take up a considerable time.

Thus a new world appeared, or the earth put on its new form, and became divided into sea and land; and the abyss, which from several ages, even from the beginning of the world, had lain hid in the womb of the earth, was brought to light and discovered; the greatest part of it constituting our present ocean, and the rest filling the lower cavities of the earth; upon the land appeared the mountains and the hills, and the islands in the sea, and the rocks upon the shore. And so the Divine Providence having prepared nature for so great a change, at one stroke dissolved the frame of the old world, and made us a new one out of its ruins, which we now inhabit since the deluge. All which things being thus explained, deduced, and stated, we now add and pronounce our third and last proposition, "that the disruption of the abyss, or dissolution of the primæval earth, and its fall into the abyss, was the cause of the universal deluge, and of the destruction of the old world."

The two propositions before proved, are, 1. That the antidiluvian earth was of a different form and construction from the present. 2. That the face of the earth before the deluge was smooth, regular, and uniform, without mountains, and without a sea;—propositions, which are implied in the remarks preceding the extract.

This theory of the earth is no longer considered in any other light than as a beautiful philosophical romance. It displays indeed powers of imagination, and of description, of the first order; but unfortunately, much of the spirit of the Latin original has evaporated in his own English translation. In comparing this description with the same in his own Latin, we cannot avoid being sensibly struck with its inferiority. The author seems scarcely to have understood himself. It is obvious, that he is far less intimately acquainted with the powers of his own language, than with those of the Roman. He had not the art, in his own tongue, of investing his sublime conceptions with language of suitable loftiness. His Latin style, however, though admirable in itself, as adapted to the expression of elevated thoughts, is not the Latin of the Augustan age, nor of

any other period of the Roman language; it is peculiarly his own; though perhaps it is such as a Roman of the same cast of sentiment, writing on the same subject, and possessed of equal elevation of genius, would have chosen as the vehicle of his thoughts.

2. The second work of Burnet was his *Archæologiæ Philosophicæ, sive Doctrina Antiqua de Rerum Originibus.* In the preface to the edition of 1733, the author tells us, that "his design is to enquire into the opinions of the ancients, concerning the nature of things, in order to vindicate and give antiquity its due praise; and to shew, that neither were our ancestors dunces, nor was wisdom or true philosophy born with us."

In this book he has called in question the literal history of the fall; and written a Dialogue between Eve and the Serpent, which gave great offence to his orthodoxical brethren. In a new edition, therefore, printed in Holland, he ordered it to be suppressed. It had been printed, however, both in the first and second editions.

3. His book *De Fide et Officiis Christianorum,* was published after his death; of which the second edition, in 8vo. is dated 1733, Lon

don. This book forms a part only of a larger design, under the title of *Tractatus de Claris et Obscuris in Doctrinâ Christianâ.* Then follows—*Pars Prima, in qua agitur de iis quæ spectant ad Vitam Hodiernam, sive de Fide et Officiis Christianorum.* This work contains a compendious system of Christian doctrine and duty. It has been translated into English.

4. *De Statu Mortuorum et Resurgentium* was likewise a posthumous work. The second edition of it was published in 8vo, 1739, Lond. with an appendix, *De Futurâ Judæorum Restauratione.* In this treatise he has expressly denied the eternity of hell torments—a doctrine which, in his days, was commonly considered as essential to the system of Christianity—and has asserted the final salvation of the whole human race. But apprehending bad consequences from the promulgation of these unusual opinions, he strongly protested, in a note, against the translation of his book. It has, however, been since translated by Dennis, together with the note at the bottom of the page.

The opinions of Dr. Thomas Burnet on various subjects of theology, were considered as so heterodoxical in those days, that, notwith-

standing he had the countenance of king William, and the patronage of Tillotson, archbishop of Canterbury, a conspiracy of the priesthood against him prevented any high degree of ecclesiastical preferment. As to the works of Burnet, though they are all stamped with marks of genius, they are not perhaps likely in future to be much read; since in his theological writings, he combats opinions, about which we no longer require conviction; and in philosophy we look for truth, rather than force and grandeur of imagination.

SHERLOCK.

WILLIAM SHERLOCK, an eminent divine, was born in 1641, in Gravel-lane, Southwark. His father, being a tradesman of competent fortune, sent his son to Eton school, whence, in 1650, at the age of fifteen, he was removed to Peter-house, Cambridge. He took his degree of bachelor in the year of the restoration, and that of master in 1663. In 1669, he was preferred to the rectory of St. George's, Botolph-lane, London; and, in 1684, was collated to the prebend of St. Pancras, in the cathedral of St. Paul. In 1685 he was made master of the Temple; but refusing, at the revolution, to take the oath of allegiance to king William and queen Mary, he was suspended, in 1689, from all his preferments; though on his compliance, a short time after, he was reinstated. On the promotion of Tillotson to the see of Canterbury, Sherlock succeeded him in the

deanery of St. Paul's, by his grace's recommendation. The last ecclesiastical benefice he obtained was the rectory of Therford, in Hertfordshire, some time before his death, which took place in 1707.

The principal writings of Sherlock consist of controversial theology. He entered warmly into dispute with the most busy sectaries of the time, the Solifidians and Antinomians, who appeared in the reign of Elizabeth; with the Catholics and Non-conformists, the latter of whom he was very anxious to bring back to the established church. His tracts on such subjects are very numerous. His "Practical Discourse concerning Death" is well known; it was published during his suspension, in 1690. Moreover, two volumes of his sermons, 8vo. were collected and published after his death.

The treatise of Sherlock, however, which made the greatest stir in the theologic world, was his "Vindication of the Doctrine of the holy and ever blessed Trinity," published in 1691; and which contains a new method of explaining that mystery. It excited the sarcastic antagonism of Dr. South, in a tract entitled "Animadversions," &c. and which called forth a defence from Sherlock; followed again

with a charge on him of Tritheism, from South. His opinions, too, were condemned by the university of Oxford. In short, the dispute at length *waxed so hot*, that his majesty, at the instance of the bishops, thought proper to interpose; and, to preserve unity in the church, it was ordained, "that all preachers should carefully avoid all new terms, and confine themselves to such ways of explication as have been commonly used in the church."

His sermons were published in five volumes octavo, 1755.

The following extract is taken from the sixth discourse, vol. 1. on the immortality of the soul, and is marked by good sense, and a perspicuous style:

Had it not been for philosophy, there had remained perhaps no footsteps of any unbelievers in this great article; for the sense of nature would have directed all right; but philosophy misguided many. For those who denied immortality, did not deny the common sense of nature, which they felt as well as others; but they rejected the notice, and thought it false, because they could not find physical causes to support the belief, or thought that they found physical causes

effectually to overthrow it. This account we owe to Cicero, one of the best judges of antiquity; who tells us plainly, that the reason why many rejected the belief of the immortality of the soul, was because they could not form a conception of an unbodied soul. So that infidelity is of no older a date than philosophy; and a future state was not doubted of, till men had puzzled and confounded themselves in their search after the physical reason of the soul's immortality. And now consider how the case stands, and how far the evidence of nature is weakened by the authority of such unbelievers. All mankind receive the belief of a future life, urged to it every day by what they feel transacted in their own breasts: but some philosophers reject this opinion, because they have no conception of a soul distinct from the body; as if the immortality of the soul depended merely upon the strength of human imagination. Were the natural evidence of immortality built upon any particular notion of a human soul, the evidence of nature might be overthrown by shewing the impossibility or improbability of such notion: but the evidence of nature is not concerned in any notion; and all the common notions may be false, and yet the evidence of nature stand good, which only supposes man to be rational, and consequently accountable; and if any philosopher can prove the contrary, he may then, if his word will

afterwards pass for any thing, reject this and all other evidence whatever.

The natural evidence, I say, supposes only that a man is a rational, accountable creature; and this being the true foundation in nature for the belief of the immortality, the true notion of nature must needs be this, that man, as such, shall live to account for his doings. The question, then, upon the foot of nature, is this: What constitutes the man? And whoever observes with any care, will find that this is the point upon which the learned of antiquity divided. The vulgar spoke of men after death just in the same manner as they did of men on earth: and Cicero observes, that the common error, as he calls it, so far prevailed, that they supposed such things to be transacted *apud inferos, quæ sine corporibus nec fieri possent nec intelligi;* which could neither be done, nor conceived to be done, without bodies. The generality of men could not arrive to abstracted notions of unbodied spirits; and though they could not but think that the body, which was burnt before their eyes, was dissipated and destroyed; yet so great was the force of nature, which was ever suggesting to them that men should live again, that they continued to imagine men with bodies in another life, having no other notion or conception of men.

But, with the learned, nothing was held to be more absurd than to think of having bodies again in ano-

ther state; and yet they knew that the true foundation of immortality was laid in this point, that the same individuals should continue. The natural consequence then was, from these principles, to exclude the body from being any part of the man; and all, I believe, who asserted an immortality, agreed in this notion. The Platonists undoubtedly did; and Cicero has every where declared it to be his opinion: *Tu habito*, (says he) *te non esse mortalem, sed corpus: Nec enim is es quem forma ista declarat; sed mens cujusque is est quisque.* It is not you, but your body, which is mortal; for you are not what you appear to be; but it is the mind which is the man. This being the case, the controversy was necessarily brought to turn upon the nature of the soul; and the belief of immortality either prevailed or sunk, according as men conceived of the natural dignity and power of the soul. For this reason the corporealists rejected the opinion: for since it was universally agreed among the learned, that all that was corporeal of man died, they who had no notion of any thing else, necessarily concluded that the whole man died.

From this view you may judge how the cause of immortality stood, and what difficulties attended it, upon the foot of natural religion. All men had a natural sense and expectation of a future life.

The difficulty was to account how the same individuals, which lived and died in this world, and one

part of which evidently went to decay, should live again in another world. The vulgar, who had no other notion of a man but what came in by their eyes, supposed that just such men as lived in this world should live in the next; overlooking the difficulties which lay in their way, whilst they ran hastily to embrace the sentiments of nature. This advantage they had, however, that their opinion preserved the identity of individuals, and they conceived themselves to be the very same with respect to the life to come, as they found themselves to be in regard to the life present. But then, had they been pressed, they could not have stood the difficulties arising from the dissolution of the body, the loss of which, in their way of thinking, was the loss of the individual.

The learned, who could not but see and feel this difficulty, to avoid it shut out the body from being any part of the man, and made the soul alone to be the perfect *individuum*. This engaged them in endless disputes upon the nature of the soul; and this grand article of natural religion, by this means, was made to hang by the slender threads of philosophy; and the whole was entirely lost, if their first position proved false, that the soul is the whole of man; and it is an assertion which will not perhaps stand the examination. The maintainers of this opinion, though they supposed a sensitive, as well as a rational soul in man, which was the seat of the pas-

sions, and consequently the spring of all human actions; yet this sensitive soul they gave up to death, as well as the body, and preserved nothing but the pure intellectual mind. And yet it is something surprising to think that a mere rational mind should be the same individual with a man, who consists of a rational mind, a sensitive soul, and a body. This carries no probability with it at first sight, and reason cannot undertake much in its behalf.

But whatever becomes of these speculations, there is a farther difficulty, which can hardly be got over; which is, that this notion of immortality and future judgment, can never serve the ends and purposes of religion; because it is a notion which the generality of mankind can never arrive at. Go to the villages, and tell the ploughmen, that if they sin, yet their bodies shall sleep in peace; no material, no sensible fire shall ever reach them; but there is something within them purely intellectual, which shall suffer to eternity: you will hardly find that they have enough of the intellectual to comprehend your meaning. Now natural religion is founded on the sense of nature; that is, upon the common apprehensions of mankind; and therefore abstracted metaphysical notions beat out upon the anvil of the schools, can never support natural religion, or make any part of it.

In this point, then, nature seems to be lame, and not able to support the hopes of immortality which

she gives to all her children. The expectation of the vulgar, that they shall live again, and be just the same flesh and blood which now they are, is justifiable upon no principles of reason or nature. What is there in the whole compass of things which yields a similitude of dust and ashes rising up again into regular bodies, and to perpetual immortality? On the other side, that the intellectual soul should be the whole man, how justifiable soever it may be in other respects, yet it is not the common sense of nature, and therefore most certainly no part of natural religion.

But it may be worth enquiring, how nature comes to be thus defective in this material point. Did not God intend men originally for religious creatures; and, if he did, is it not reasonable to expect an original and consistent scheme of religion? which yet in the point now before us seems to be wanting. The account of this we cannot learn from reason or nature: but in the sacred history the fact is cleared beyond dispute. * * * *

Lastly, If we consider how our Saviour has enlightened this doctrine, it will appear that he has removed the difficulty at which nature stumbled. As death was no part of the state of nature, so the difficulties arising from it were not provided for in the religion of nature. To remove these was the proper work of revelation; these our Lord has effectually

cleared by his Gospel, and shewn us that the body may and shall be united to the spirit in the day of the Lord, so that the complete man shall stand before the great tribunal, to receive a just recompence of reward for the things done in the body. * * * * This has restored religion, which had hardly one sound foot to stand on, and made our faith and our reason consistent, which were before at too great a distance. Nature indeed taught us to hope for immortality; but it was in spite of sense and experience, till the great Prince of our peace appeared, who brought life and immortality to light through his Gospel.

DRYDEN.

JOHN DRYDEN, the celebrated poet, son of Erasmus Dryden, of Tichmersh in Northamptonshire, baronet, was born at Aldwinkle in that county, in 1631. He was educated at Westminster, where he was king's scholar, under the famous Dr. Busby; whence he was elected, in 1650, scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge.

In 1662, he was chosen fellow of the Royal Society; and on the death of sir William Davenant, in 1668, was made poet-laureat and historiographer to Charles II. Soon after the accession of James II. Dryden was converted to popery; in consequence of which, he was dismissed at the revolution from his office of poet-laureat. His life is so well known that it were

needless to add other particulars. He died in 1701.

The prose works of Dryden were collected, in 1800, into four volumes octavo, by Mr. Malone, with notes and illustrations; to which is prefixed an account of the life and writings of the author. This publication contains also a collection of his letters, the greater part of which was never before published. It were superfluous to specify the several particulars in this collection. It is sufficient to observe, that the most valuable of the prose productions of Dryden, is his "Essay on Dramatic Poesy," from which alone I shall make my selections. This celebrated essay contains the relation of a dialogue, supposed to have taken place between Eugenius, Crites, Lisideius, and Neander, who, on occasion of the engagement between the English and Dutch fleets, June 3, 1665, about eight leagues to the east of Lowestoff in Suffolk, are represented to have taken a barge, and proceeded down the Thames towards Greenwich, that they may listen more attentively to the low and hollow murmurings, arising from the reports of the distant canon. When the noise had ceased, and they had congratulated each other by anticipation on the

victory of their country, the conversation began with Crites' expressing his apprehension, that they should now be inundated with a deluge of bad verses on that memorable occasion. After some desultory talking, the dispute is limited to dramatic poetry, when Lisideius* defines a play to be:

"A just and lively image of human nature, representing its passions and humours, and the changes of fortune to which it is subject, for the delight and instruction of mankind."

I have room only for his admirable characters of our principal dramatists.

* The characters in this dialogue allude to real personages, who are thus identified by Mr. Malone:—"The person hid under the feigned name of Eugenius, as we shall presently find, was Charles, earl of Dorset. Crites and Lisideius, perhaps, were meant to represent Wentworth, earl of Roscommon, (or as he corrects himself in a subsequent note, more probably sir Robert Howard) and John Sheffield, earl of Mulgrave, afterwards duke of Bucks and Normandy, under the character of Neander, who, in the latter part of this essay, appears as a strenuous advocate for rhyming tragedies. Our author himself, I conceive, is shadowed."

Shakspeare.

To begin, then, with Shakspeare. He was the man, who of all modern, and perhaps ancient poets, had the largest and most comprehensive soul. All the images of nature were still present to him, and he drew them not laboriously, but luckily: when he describes any thing, you more than see it—you feel it too. Those who accuse him to have wanted learning, give him the greater commendation: he was naturally learned; he needed not the spectacles of books to read nature; he looked inwards, and found her there. I cannot say he is every where alike; were he so, I should do him injury to compare him with the greatest of mankind. He is many times flat, insipid; his comic wit degenerating into clenches, his serious swelling into bombast. But he is always great, when some great occasion is presented to him; no man can say he ever had a fit subject for his wit, and did not then raise himself as high above the rest of poets,

Quantum lenta solent inter viburna cupressi.

The consideration of this made Mr. Hales of Eton say, that there was no subject of which any poet ever writ, but he would produce it much better done in Shakspeare; and however others are now generally preferred before him, yet the age wherein he lived,

which had contemporaries with him, Fletcher and Jonson, never equalled them to him in their esteem: and in the last king's court, when Ben's reputation was at highest, sir John Suckling, and with him the greater part of the courtiers, set our Shakspeare far above him.

Beaumont and Fletcher.

Beaumont and Fletcher, of whom I am next to speak, had, with the advantage of Shakspeare's wit, which was their precedent, great natural gifts, improved by study; Beaumont especially, being so accurate a judge of plays, that Ben. Jonson, while he lived, submitted all his writings to his censure, and 'tis thought, used his judgment in correcting, if not contriving, all his plots. What value he had for him, appears by the verses he writ to him, and therefore I need speak no farther of it. The first play that brought Fletcher and him in esteem was their "Philaster:" for before that they had written two or three very unsuccessfully: as the like is reported of Ben. Jonson, before he writ "Every Man in his Humour." Their plots were generally more regular than Shakspeare's, especially those which were made before Beaumont's death; and they understood and imitated the conversation of gentlemen much better; whose wild debaucheries, and quickness of wit in repartees, no poet before them could paint as they have

done. Humour, which Ben. Jonson derived from particular persons, they made it not their business to describe: they represented all the passions very lively, but above all, love. I am apt to believe the English language in them arrived to its highest perfection; what words have since been taken in, are rather superfluous than ornamental. Their plays are now the most pleasant and frequent entertainments of the stage; two of theirs being acted through the year, for one of Shakspeare's or Jonson's: the reason is, because there is a certain gaiety in their comedies, and pathos in their more serious plays, which suits generally with all men's humours. Shakspeare's language is likewise a little obsolete, and Ben Jonson's wit comes short of theirs.

Ben. Jonson.

As for Jonson, to whose character I am now arrived, if we look upon him while he was himself, (for his last plays were but his dotages,) I think him the most learned and judicious writer which any theatre ever had. He was a most severe judge of himself, as well as others. One cannot say he wanted wit, but rather that he was frugal of it. In his works you find little to retrench or alter. Wit, and language, and humour, also in some measure, we had before him; but something of art was wanting to the

drama, till he came. He managed his strength to more advantage than any who preceded him. You seldom find him making love in any of his scenes, or endeavouring to move the passions; his genius was too sullen and saturnine to do it gracefully, especially when he knew he came after those who had performed both to such a height. Humour was his proper sphere; and in that he delighted most to represent mechanic people. He was deeply conversant in the ancients, both Greek and Latin, and he borrowed boldly from them; there is scarce a poet or historian among the Roman authors of those times, whom he has not translated in Sejanus and Catiline. But he has done his robberies so openly, that one may see he fears not to be taxed by any law. He invades authors like a monarch; and what would be theft in other poets, is only victory in him. With the spoils of these writers he so represented Rome to us, in his rites, ceremonies, and customs, that if one of their poets had written either of his tragedies, we had seen less of it than in him. If there was any fault in his language, 'twas that he weaved it too closely and laboriously, in his comedies especially: perhaps too, he did a little too much Romanize our tongue, leaving the words which he translated almost as much Latin as he found them; wherein, though he learnedly followed their language, he did not enough comply with the Genius of ours. If I would compare him

with Shakspeare, I must acknowledge him the more correct poet, but Shakspeare the greater wit. Shakspeare was the Homer, or father of our dramatic poets: Jonson was the Virgil, the pattern of elaborate writing: I admire him, but I love Shakspeare. To conclude of him; as he has given us the most correct plays, so, in the precepts which he has laid down in his "Discoveries," we have as many and profitable rules for perfecting the stage, as any wherewith the French can furnish us.

Of the Essay on Dramatic Poesy, Dr. Johnson observes, that it "was the first regular and valuable treatise on the art of writing. He, who having formed his opinions in the present age of English literature, turns back to peruse this dialogue, will not perhaps find much increase of knowledge, or much novelty of instruction; but he is to remember that critical principles were then in the hands of a few, who had gathered them partly from the ancients, and partly from the Italians and French. The structure of dramatic poems was then not generally understood. Audiences applauded by instinct, and poets perhaps often pleased by chance.

"A writer who obtains his full purpose, loses himself in his own lustre. Of an opinion which is no longer doubted, the evidence ceases to be examined. Of an art universally practised, the first teacher is forgotten. Learning once made popular, is no longer learning; it has the appearance of something which we have bestowed upon ourselves, as the dew appears to rise from the field which it refreshes.

"To judge rightly of an author, we must transport ourselves to his time, and examine what were the wants of his cotemporaries, and what were his means of supplying them. That which was easy at one time was difficult at another. Dryden at least imported his science, and gave his country what it wanted before; or rather, he imported only the materials, and manufactured them by his own skill.

"The Dialogue on the Drama was one of his first essays of criticism, written when he was yet a timorous candidate for reputation, and therefore laboured with that diligence, which he might allow himself somewhat to remit, when his name gave sanction to his positions, and his awe of the public was abated, partly by custom and partly by success. It will not be

easy to find, in all the opulence of our language, a treatise so artfully variegated with successive representations of opposite probabilities, so enlivened with imagery, so brightened with illustrations. His portraits of the English dramatists are wrought with great spirit and diligence. The account of Shakspeare may stand as a perpetual model of encomiastic criticism; being lofty without exaggeration. The praise lavished by Longinus on the attestation of the herds of Marathon by Demosthenes, fades away before it. In a few lines is exhibited a character so extensive in its comprehension, and so curious in its limitations, that nothing can be added, diminished, or reformed; nor can the editors and admirers of Shakspeare, in all their emulation of reverence, boast of much more than of having diffused and paraphrased this epitome of excellence—of having changed Dryden's gold for baser metal, of lower value though of greater bulk.

"In this, and in all his other essays on the same subject, the criticism of Dryden is the criticism of a poet, not a dull collection of theorems, not a rude detection of faults, which perhaps the censor was not able to have com-

mitted; but a gay and vigorous dissertation, where delight is mingled with instruction, and where the author proves his right of judgment by his power of performance."

SOUTH.

Dr. Robert South, a divine celebrated for his wit as well as his learning, was descended of the Souths of Kelstone and Kielby in Lincolnshire, and born at Hackney in 1633, his father being an eminent merchant. He entered as king's scholar of Westminster school in 1647, under Dr. Busby; and rendered himself remarkable the following year, by reading the Latin prayers in the school, on the day of the martyrdom of Charles I. and by praying for his majesty by name. In 1651, he was chosen student in Christ-church, Oxford.

Having taken his degrees in arts, and entered into orders, the following year, 1659, he was appointed to preach the assize sermon before the judges, in which he displayed a warm

zeal against the Independents, to the great satisfaction of the Presbyterians; though towards the latter end of the year he was no less severe against the hypocrisy of the latter. In 1660, he was chosen public orator of the university; in which office, on the election of the earl of Clarendon as chancellor of the university, he received him with an elegant Latin speech; and addressed another to him on his investiture. Hence he became domestic chaplain to the chancellor; and in 1663, was installed prebendary of Westminster, and soon after created doctor of divinity.

After the earl's banishment in 1667, the doctor was appointed chaplain to James duke of York, and collated to a canonry of Christchurch in 1670, by the king. In 1676, he attended Laurence Hyde, esq. younger son of the earl of Clarendon, in quality of chaplain, on his embassy to Poland; of which country he wrote a brief account in a letter from Dantzic, 1677, to Dr. Edward Pococke, regius professor of Hebrew, and canon of Christchurch. After his return he was presented, in 1678, by the dean and chapter of Westminster, to the rectory of Islip in Oxfordshire. He was also one of Charles the Second's chaplains in

ordinary. On the accession of James II. the earl of Clarendon, going lord-lieutenant to Ireland, offered him an archbishopric in that island, which he declined, from a desire to live more privately. The latter part of his life was spent chiefly at Islip and Oxford, and sometimes at his paternal estate at Caversham in Oxfordshire, at which places, he employed himself in preparing for the press his very curious and witty sermons. At the revolution he refused at first to take the oaths to the new government, though he afterwards complied; but it is highly to his credit, that on being offered one of the sees vacated by the non-juring bishops in 1692, he declined it; alledging—"That notwithstanding he, for his part, saw nothing that was contrary to the laws of God, and the common practice of all nations, to submit to princes in possession of the throne, yet others might have their reasons for a contrary opinion; and he blessed God, that he was neither so ambitious, nor in want of preferment, as for the sake of it, to build his rise upon the ruins of any one father of the church, who for piety, good morals, and strictness of life, which every one of the deprived bishops were famed for, might be said not to have left

their equal. In the same spirit he afterwards refused the bishopric of Rochester and deanery of Westminster, though importuned to accept those dignities. He died in 1716.

The most voluminous productions of South are his Sermons, which are comprised in 6 vols. 8vo. The following brief extracts are taken from the first in the collection, which is remarkable for its elegance and rationality, and for its having been preached at court. Its subject is "The Ways of Pleasantness, or that Virtue is the truest Happiness." I have not room to follow the author through his ingenious arguments, in illustration of this important truth; and must therefore content myself with exhibiting only the passage which contains the result of his arguments on the subject.

Nothing (says he) is comparable to the pleasure of an active and a prevailing thought—a thought prevailing over the difficulty and obscurity of the object, and refreshing the soul with new discoveries, and images of things; and thereby extending the bounds of apprehension, and (as it were) enlarging the territories of reason. * * * * No man was ever weary of thinking, much less of thinking that he had done well or virtuously; that he had conquered such

and such a temptation, or offered violence to any of his exorbitant desires. This is a delight that grows and improves under thought and reflection; and while it exercises, does also endear itself to the mind; at the same time employing and enflaming the meditations. * * And tell me so of any outward enjoyment that mortality is capable of. We are generally at the mercy of men's rapine, avarice, and violence, whether we shall be happy or no: for if I build my felicity on my estate, I am happy as long as the tyrant, or the railer will give me leave to be so. * * But if I can make my duty my delight; if I can feast, and please, and caress my mind with the pleasures of worthy speculations or virtuous practices; let greatness and malice vex and abridge me if they can. My pleasures are as free as my will; no more to be controuled than my choice, or the unlimited range of my thoughts and my desires.

This discourse is commended in the Tatler, No. 205, Vol. IV. in these terms: "This admirable discourse was preached at court, where the preacher was too wise a man not to believe the greatest argument in that place, against the pleasures then in vogue, must be, that they lost greater pleasures by prosecuting the courses

they were in. This charming discourse has in it whatsoever wit and wisdom can put together. This gentleman has a talent of making all his faculties bear to the great end of his hallowed profession. Happy genius! he is the better man for being a wit."

South distinguished himself likewise by his controversy with Sherlock, on the subject of the Trinity. His tracts on this subject are, 1. Animadversions upon Dr. Sherlock's book, entitled—"Vindication," &c. 2. Tritheism charged upon Dr Sherlock's new notion of the Trinity in the Godhead.

Sherlock had defined the Trinity to be—Three eternal minds, of which two proceeded from the Father; and the three rendered one by a reciprocal consciousness. South treats this notion in the following ludicrous manner;

The soul of Socrates, (says he) vitally joined with a female body, would certainly make a woman; and yet according to this author's principle (affirming that it is the soul only which makes the person) Socrates with such a change of body, would continue the same person, and consequently be the same Socrates still. And in like manner for Xantippe, the conjunction of her soul with another sex. would certainly make the whole compound a man; and nevertheless Xantippe

would continue the same person, and the same Xantippe still; save only, I confess, that upon such exchange of bodies with her husband Socrates, she would have more right to wear the breeches than she had before.

This sarcastic illustration of the consequences of Sherlock's doctrine is said to have contained an allusion to the particular domestic situation of that divine, who resembled Socrates in the point of matrimonial felicity.

During the heat of this controversy, Dr. T. Burnet published his *Archæologia*, in which he assails with considerable force the divine authority of the Old Testament. These three divines, forming a Trinity not in unity, excited the sportive wit of some cotemporary poet, who satyrizes them in the following humorous ballad, to the tune of *A Soldier and a Sailor*, &c.

A Dean and a Prebendary
Had once a new vagary;
And were at doubtful strife, sir,
Who led the better life, sir;
And was the better man,
And was the better man.

The Dean, he said that truly,
Since Bluff was so unruly,
He'd prove it to his face, sir,
That he had the most grace, sir;
And so the fight began,
And so the fight began.

When Preb. replied like thunder,
And roar'd out, 'twas no wonder,
Since gods the Dean had three, sir,
And more by two than he, sir;
For he had got but one,
For he had got but one.

Now while these two were raging,
And in dispute engaging,
The Master of the Charter
Said, Both had caught a Tartar,
For gods, sir, there was none,
For gods, sir, there was none.

That all the books of Moses,
Were nothing but supposes;
That he deserv'd rebuke, sir,
Who wrote the Pentateuch, sir,
'Twas nothing but a sham,
Twas nothing but a sham.

at as for father Adam,
With Mrs. Eve his madam,
And what the Serpent spoke, sir,
'Twas nothing but a joke, sir,
And well-invented flam,
And well-invented flam.

Thus in this battle royal,
As none would take denial,
The dame for which they strove, sir,
Could neither of them love, sir,
Since all had given offence,
Since all had given offence.

She therefore slily waiting,
Left all three fools a prating:
And being in a fright, sir,
Religion took her flight, sir,
And ne'er was heard of since,
And ne'er was heard of since.

BARCLAY,

The most eminent writer among the quakers, was born at Edinburgh in 1648. On account of the disturbed state of his country at that period, he was sent, while a youth, by his father, colonel Barclay, to Paris, where his brother, who was then principal of the Scots college, in that city, taking advantage of his tender age, allured him to the Romish faith. His father learning this, sent for him home, where he arrived in 1664, about the age of sixteen.

In the year 1666, his father became a convert to the tenets of quakerism, tenets which the son soon after embraced; though, as it is said, not from the example of his father, but from the conviction of his own mind. He soon became distinguished as the principal

champion of the new sect. In the course of his life, he travelled with the celebrated William Penn, through the greatest part of England, Holland, and Germany, and died in 1690, about the forty-second year of his age.

Barclay wrote various treatises in defence of his peculiar tenets, of which the principal is his well-known "Apology for the Quakers." It was written and published in Latin; and afterwards translated by himself into English. It was dedicated to Charles II. and the dedication is remarkable and commendable for the manly, though respectful freedom, with which he undertakes to counsel his prince, and to exhort him, from his own experience of oppression, not to become the oppressor of his subjects. He addresses his majesty with the familiarity peculiar to his sect.

As it is inconsistent with the truth I bear, so it is far from me to use this epistle as an engine to flatter thee, the usual design of such works: and therefore I can neither dedicate it to thee, nor crave thy patronage, as if thereby I might have more confidence to present it to the world, or be more hopeful of its success. To God alone I owe what I have, and that more immediately in matters spiritual, and therefore to him alone, and to the service of his truth,

I dedicate whatever work he brings forth in me, to whom only the praise and honour appertain, whose truth needs not the patronage of worldly princes, his arm and power being that alone, by which it is propagated, established, and confirmed. * * * *

There is no king in the world, who can so experimentally testify of God's providence and goodness; neither is there any, who rules so many free people, so many true christians; which thing renders thy government more honourable, thyself more considerable, than the accession of many nations, filled with slavish and superstitious souls.

Thou hast tasted of prosperity and adversity; thou knowest what it is to be banished thy native country, to be over-ruled, as well as to rule and sit upon the throne; and being oppressed, thou hast reason to know how hateful the oppressor is to both God and man: if after all these warnings and advertisements, thou dost not turn unto the Lord with all thy heart, but forget him, who remembered thee in thy distress, and give up thyself to follow lust and vanity; surely great will be thy condemnation.

Against which snare, as well as the temptation of those that may or do feed thee, and prompt thee to evil; the most excellent and prevalent remedy will be, to apply thyself to that light of Christ, which shineth in thy conscience, which neither can, nor will flatter

thee, nor suffer thee to be at ease in thy sins; but doth and will deal plainly and faithfully with thee, as those that are followers thereof have also done.

God Almighty, who hath so signally hitherto visited thee with his love, so touch and reach thy heart, ere the day of thy visitation be expired, that thou mayst effectually turn to him, so as to improve thy place and station for his name. So wisheth, so prayeth,

Thy faithful friend and subject,
ROBERT BARCLAY.

This book, shortly after its publication, was translated into High and Low Dutch, French, and Spanish.

I shall decline giving an extract from the body of the "Apology," as I have a very appropriate one from the *last* treatise written by Barclay, and which has been justly considered as the corner stone of his system of divinity. It was entitled "The Possibility and Necessity of inward and immediate Revelation of the Spirit of God towards the Foundation and Ground of True Faith, proved in a Letter written in Latin to a Person of Quality in Holland, and now also put into English, by

R. B." This letter, originally dated 1676, is inserted at large in Sewell's History of the Quakers, with several other pieces on the same subject. In his preface to this piece, he states the question of the rule of faith as established by the Catholics on one hand, and the Protestants on the other:

It is, (says he) a question now frequently tossed, "What is the ground and foundation of faith?" And when the matter is sifted to the bottom, it resolves in tradition or revelation: for those who lay claim to the Scripture, and would not make it the foundation of their faith, do resolve it but in a tradition, when the motives of credibility are enquired into; since, the subjective revelation which they yield comes but in the last place, and is by themselves termed *medium incognitum assentiendi;* and such a revelation those of Rome will not refuse to influence them to assent to the determination of the church. So those protestants, who say the subjective operation of the spirit influences them, though they know not how, to believe the Scripture presented and conveyed to them by tradition, as the dictates of God's spirit, and so understand them as their preachers interpret them, differ not much, or at least, have not reason to differ from the church of Rome, who say the spirit influences them to believe the Scriptures

as proposed by the church, and according as her doctors and councils interpret them; and neither has any better foundation than tradition: and to speak the truth plainly, the faith of both resolves in the veneration they have for their doctors; but whereas the one affirms, they do it by an entire submission, they think it decent to say, they judge them infallible; and certainly it is most reasonable, that such as affirm the first believe in the last. The other, because they pretend they believe the church, but continually have denied to her infallibility, though generally they be as credulous as the other; and I find the doctors of their church as angry to be contradicted as the other. That is an ingredient goes to the composition of all clergymen, since it became trade, and went to make a part of the outward policy of the world, from which has flowed that monster, Persecution. In short, the matter is easily driven into this narrow compass. We believe either because of an outward or inward testimony; that is, because it is outwardly delivered, or inwardly revealed to us. For my part, I think the papists do wisely in pleading for infallibility; for certainly the true church never was, nor can be without it; and the protestants do honestly in not claiming it, because they are sensible they want it. I should therefore desire the one to prove that they are infallible; and advise the other to believe, they *may*, and seek after it. But I am sure, neither

the one is, nor the other cannot, without immediate divine revelation.

There is great force and acuteness in this statement, whatever we may think of the solidity of the author's principles.

BROWN (TOM.)

THOMAS BROWN, of facetious memory, was the son of a considerable farmer in Shropshire, and educated at Newport school in that county, whence he was removed to Christ-church, Oxford. But the irregularities of his college life, soon obliged him to quit the university; and he set out, on a vague scheme of making his fortune, to London. But disappointed in his hopes, starvation stared him in the face, though he found interest enough to establish himself in a school at Kingston-upon-Thames. This occupation, however, ill-accorded with the vivacity of his temperament, and his previous habits, and he soon deserted the school for the metropolis. Here his former companions were more disposed to be pleased with his humour, than to relieve his wants, and he

was driven to the usual resource of necessitous wits—to write for bread. In this project he succeeded to the admiration of a numerous class of readers, though he failed to rise in fortune as he rose in fame. He is said to have wanted urbanity, and to have possessed a quality very common with wits of his description, who would rather lose a friend than a joke. He died in 1704.

His works were printed in 1707; and consist of "Dialogues, Essays, Declamations, Satires, Letters from the Dead to the Living, Translations, Amusements," &c. The following passage will serve to give an idea of his manner.

Ladies.

The chief virtue in the ladies' catechism is, to please; and beauty pleases men more effectually than wisdom. One man loves sweetness and modesty in a woman; another loves a jolly damsel with life and vigour; but agreeableness and beauty relishes with all human palates. A young woman who has no other portion than her hopes of pleasing, is at a loss what measures to take that she may make her fortune. Is she simple? We despise her. Is she virtuous? We don't like her company. Is she a coquet? We avoid her. Therefore, to succeed well in this

world, 'tis necessary that she be virtuous, simple, and a coquet, all at once. Simplicity invites us, coquetry amuses, and virtue retains us. 'Tis a hard matter for a woman to escape the censures of the men. 'Tis much more so to guard themselves from the women's tongues. A lady that sets up virtue, makes herself envied; she that pretends to gallantry, makes herself despised; but she that pretends to nothing, escapes contempt and envy, and saves herself between two reputations. This management surpasses the capacity of a young woman, she being exposed to two temptations. To preserve themselves from them, they want the assistance of reason; and 'tis their misfortune that reason comes not in to their relief, till their youth and beauty, and the danger, are gone together. Tell us why should not reason come as soon as beauty, since one was made to defend the other? It does not depend upon a woman to be handsome; the only beauty that all of them might have, and some of them, to speak modestly, often part with, is chastity; but of all beauties whatsoever, 'tis the easiest to lose. She that never was yet in love, is so ashamed of her first weakness, that she would by all means conceal it from herself; as for the second, she desires to conceal it from others; but she does not think it worth the while to conceal the third from any body. When chastity is once gone, 'tis no more to be retrieved than youth.

Those that have lost their chastities, assume an affected one, which is much sooner provoked than that which is real.

Tom Brown is now usually decried as a buffoon, and mere merry fellow; but he had great shrewdness and observation, and was a droll of the very first order. His great fault is his indecency—a fault which seems almost inseparable from a humourist.

James II.

LADY RUSSEL'S LETTERS.

THESE beautiful and interesting letters of lady Russel were written after the death of her husband, the lord William Russel, the virtuous patriot, the friend of Algernon Sidney, and his zealous co-operator in the same glorious cause, who was beheaded 21st of July, 1683. They were copied from the originals, reposited in the library of Woburn Abbey, by Thomas Sellwood, who lived in her family; from whose MSS. they were faithfully transcribed and printed. Though most of the letters in this collection were written by lady Russel, there are sundry others by persons, some of the highest rank, to her.

*Lady Russel to Dr. Fitzwilliam**.

I need not tell you, good doctor, how little capable I have been of such an exercise as this†. You will soon find how unfit I am still for it, since my yet disordered thoughts can offer me no other than such words as express the deepest sorrows, and confused, as my yet amazed mind is. But such men as you, and particularly one so much my friend, will, I know, bear with my weakness, and compassionate my distress, as you have already done by your good letter, and excellent prayer. I endeavour to make the best use I can of both; but I am so evil and unworthy a creature, that though I have desires, yet I have no dispositions, or worthiness, towards receiving comfort. You, that knew us both, and how we lived, must allow I have just cause to bewail my loss. I know it is common with others to lose a friend; but to have lived with such a one, it may be questioned how few can glory in the like happiness, so consequently lament the like loss. Who can but shrink at such a

* A divine for whom lady Russel had a great esteem and friendship; he had been chaplain to her father, as he was afterwards to the duke of York; rector of Cottenham in Cambridgeshire, and canon of Windsor; which preferments he lost after the revolution, upon refusa of the oaths. *Birch's Life of Tillotson.*

† Lord Russel, her husband, was executed, or rather murdered, July 21, 1683.

blow, till by the mighty aids of his Holy Spirit, we will let the gift of God, which he hath put into our hearts, interpose? That reason which sets a measure to our souls in prosperity, will then suggest many things which we have seen and heard, to moderate us in such sad circumstances as mine. But alas! my understanding is clouded, my faith weak, sense strong, and the devil busy to fill my thoughts with false notions, difficulties, and doubts as of a future condition *——— of prayer: but this I hope to make matter of humiliation, not sin. Lord, let me understand the reason of these dark and wounding providences, that I sink not under the discouragements of my own thoughts: I know I have deserved my punishment, and will be silent under it; but yet secretly my heart mourns, too sadly I fear, and cannot be comforted, because I have not the dear companion and sharer of all my joys and sorrows. I want him to talk with, to walk with, to eat and sleep with; all these things are irksome to me now; the day unwelcome, and the night so too; all company and meals I would avoid, if it might be; yet all this is, that I enjoy not the world in my own way, and this sure hinders my comfort; when I see my children before me, I remember the pleasure he took in them; this makes my heart shrink. Can I regret his quitting a lesser good for a bigger? Oh!

* Two or three words torn off.

if I did stedfastly believe, I could not be dejected; for I will not injure myself to say, I offer my mind any inferior consolation to supply this loss. No; I most willingly forsake this world, this vexatious, troublesome world, in which I have no other business, but to rid my soul from sin, secure by faith and a good conscience my eternal interests, with patience and courage bear my eminent misfortunes, and ever hereafter be above the smiles and frowns of it. And when I have done the remnant of the work appointed me on earth, then joyfully wait for the heavenly perfection in God's good time, when by his infinite mercy I may be accounted worthy to enter into the same place of rest and repose where he is gone, for whom only I grieve I do*———— fear. From that contemplation must come my best support. Good doctor, you will think, as you have reason, that I set no bounds, when I let myself loose to my complaints; but I will release you, first fervently asking the continuance of your prayers for

Your infinitely afflicted,
But very faithful servant,
R. RUSSELL.

Woborne Abbey,
30th September, 1684.

* A word torn off.

Lady Russel, the daughter and heiress of the earl of Southampton, was born in 1636. She was an extraordinary and an admirable woman. Her letters are written with an elegant simplicity, with truth and nature, which can flow only from the heart. The tenderness and constancy of her affection for her murdered lord, present an image to melt the soul. We discover also a mind religious and pure, struggling with the mysterious severity of providence, yet determined to bend to a conviction of the justice of its decrees. She promised her husband to take care of her own life, for the sake of his children—a promise she religiously kept, continuing a widow to the end of her life, though she survived him above forty years. She died 29th of September 1723, in her 87th year. The sixth edition of her letters was published in 1801.

William and Mary.

LOCKE.

JOHN LOCKE, the celebrated philosopher, was born at Wrington in Somertshire in 1632. His father being bred to the law, was steward or court-keeper to colonel Alexander Popham; and upon the breaking out of the civil wars, became a captain in the parliament army. Locke was educated at Westminster school, whence, at the age of nineteen, he was removed to Oxford, where he entered as student of Christ-church in 1651. His object was medicine; and having taken his degrees in arts, he practised for a short time in the university.

In 1664 he went abroad in quality of secretary to sir William Swan, who was appointed envoy to the elector of Brandenburg,

and other German princes. The following year he returned to Oxford, when he accidentally became acquainted with lord Ashley, afterwards earl of Shaftesbury, who honoured him with his patronage, and took him into his house. At the instance of his lordship, Locke now directed his chief attention to politics; and on the elevation of his patron to the post of lord chancellor, he was appointed secretary of the presentations. His lordship, however, being removed the following year, Locke shared his fortune; though he soon after held, for a short time, a secretaryship to a commission of trade. In 1675, being apprehensive of a consumption, he went to Montpellier, where he became acquainted with Mr. Thomas Herbert, subsequently earl of Pembroke, to whom he communicated his design of writing his Essay on Human Understanding, which had long employed his thoughts. He quitted Montpellier for Paris.

The earl of Shaftesbury, on the discovery of the popish plot, rising again into favour, was made president of the new council, in 1679, when he sent for Mr. Locke; who, as his patron was removed again in less than half a year, obtained no post on the present occasion,

In 1682, his lordship fled to Holland from a prosecution of high treason, and Locke accompanied him in his flight. Here, after his lordship's death, which happened soon after, he was accused at the English court, of having written certain tracts against the government. This accusation was unfounded; but it being discovered that he sided with some English mal-contents at the Hague, the English government procured his expulsion from the university of Oxford. In conjunction with Messrs. Limborch and Le Clerc, he formed a philosophical society at Amsterdam, for the purpose of discussing philosophical and literary subjects. He returned to England in 1689, in the fleet which brought over the princess of Orange; and by the interest of lord Mordaunt, afterwards earl of Monmouth, he now obtained the post of commissioner of appeals. Offers of far greater value were made him; but it accorded best with his literary habits to accept an apartment in the country seat of sir Francis Masham, at Oates in Essex. Here he spent a great part of the remainder of his life. He was, however, appointed in 1695, by king William, one of the commissioners of trade and plantations. He died at Oates in 1704.

1. The celebrated "Essay on Human Understanding," is the work by which Locke is most distinguished in the republic of letters. The plan of it was laid in 1670; though as the author met with many interruptions, it was not finished till 1686. About the same time he also published an abridgment of it. It were needless to add more of this work, as it is already in the hands of most who have any interest in such subjects.

2. In 1689, he published his first Letter on Toleration. Locke is said to have borrowed the plan of his Letters on Toleration, partly from the 44th section or discourse of Jeremy Taylor, and partly from Stillingfleet's *Irenicum*.

3. In 1690, came out his "Two Treatises of Civil Government," in defence of the revolution.

4. The same year he wrote his "Letter on Education," addressed to Edward Chissley, esq. which was not published, however, till 1693.

5. Some Considerations of the Consequences of the Lowering of Interest, and raising the Value of Money, in a letter sent to a Member of Parliament, 1691.

6. The Reasonableness of Christianity, as delivered in the Scriptures, 1695. This trea-

tise incurred the charge of Socinianism in a tract by Mr. Edwards, entitled "The Socinian Unmasked," published in 1696, which drew from Mr. Locke,

7. Two "Vindications" of his doctrine, published the same year.

8. In 1697 and 1698, Locke entered into another theological controversy with Dr. Stillingfleet, chiefly on the subject of the Trinity; which occasioned two letters from the bishop, and three from himself; which were the last compositions published during his life-time.

His posthumous works were published in 1607, octavo; and contain the five following tracts:

1. The Conduct of the Understanding.—One of the topics of this admirable little work will furnish a complete and appropriate extract:

Of Practice and Habits.

We are born with faculties and powers capable of almost any thing, such at least as would carry us farther than can be easily imagined: but it is only the exercise of those powers which gives us ability and skill in any thing, and leads us towards perfection.

A middle-aged ploughman will scarce ever be brought to the carriage and language of a gentleman, though his body be as well proportioned, and his joints as supple, and his natural parts not any way inferior. The legs of a dancing-master, and the fingers of a musician, fall as it were naturally, without thought or pains, into regular and admirable motions. Bid them change their parts, and they will in vain endeavour to produce like motions in the members not used to them, and it will require length of time and long practice to attain but some degrees of a like ability. What incredible and astonishing actions do we find rope-dancers and tumblers bring their bodies to; not but that sundry in almost all manual arts are as wonderful; but I name those which the world takes notice of for such, because on that very account they give money to see them. All these admired notions, beyond the reach and almost the conception of unpractised spectators, are nothing but the mere effects of use and industry in men, whose bodies have nothing peculiar in them from those of the amazed lookers on.

As it is in the body, so it is in the mind; practice makes it what it is, and most even of those excellencies which are looked on as natural endowments, will be found, when examined into more narrowly, to be the product of exercise, and to be raised to that pitch only by repeated actions. Some men are re-

marked for pleasantness in raillery; others for apologues and apposite diverting stories. This is apt to be taken for the effect of pure nature, and that the rather, because it is not got by rules; and those who excel in either of them, never purposely set themselves to the study of it as an art to be learnt. But yet it is true, that at first some lucky hit which took with somebody, and gained him commendation, encouraged him to try again, inclined his thoughts and endeavours that way, till at last he insensibly got a facility in it without perceiving how; and that is attributed wholly to nature, which was much more the effect of use and practice. I do not deny that natural disposition may often give the first rise to it; but that never carries a man far without use and exercise, and it is practice alone that brings the powers of the mind, as well as those of the body, to their perfection. Many a good poetic vein is buried under a trade, and never produces any thing for want of improvement. We see the ways of discourse and reasoning are very different, even concerning the same matter, at court and in the university. And he that will go from Westminster Hall to the Exchange, will find a different genius and turn in their ways of talking; and one cannot think that all whose lot fell in the city, were born with different parts from those who were bred at the university or inns of court.

To what purpose all this, but to shew that the dif-

ference so observable in men's understandings and parts, does not arise so much from the natural faculties, as acquired habits. He would be laughed at that should go about to make a fine dancer out of a country hedger, at past fifty. And he will not have much better success who shall endeavour at that age to make a man reason well or speak handsomely who has never been used to it, though you should lay before him a collection of all the best precepts of logic or oratory. No body is made any thing by hearing of rules, or laying them up in his memory; practice must settle the habit of doing, without reflecting on the rule; and you may as well hope to make a good painter or musician extempore by a lecture and instruction in the arts of music and painting, as a coherent thinker or strict reasoner, by a set of rules, shewing him wherein right reasoning consists.

This being so that defects and weakness in men's understandings, as well as other faculties, come from want of a right use of their own minds, I am apt to think the fault is generally mislaid upon nature, and there is often a complaint of want of parts when the fault lies in want of a due improvement of them. We see men frequently dexterous and sharp enough in making a bargain, who, if you reason with them about matters of religion, appear perfectly stupid.

2. An Examination of Malbranche's Opinion, of seeing all things in God.

3. A Discourse of Miracles.

4. Part of a Fourth Letter for Toleration.

5. Memoirs relating to the Life of Anthony, first Earl of Shaftesbury. To these tracts is added, his New Method of a Common-place-book.

There are, besides, several other works not included in the above list; as, 1. A Paraphrase and Notes on several of St. Paul's Epistles, 1707, quarto. 2. Some Familiar Letters between Mr. Locke and several of his Friends, 1708.

Moreover, in 1720, were published by M. des Maizeaux, "A Collection of several Pieces of Mr. John Locke, never before printed." These consist, 1. Of the Fundamental Laws of Carolina. 2. A Letter from a Person of Quality to his Friend. 3. Remarks upon some of Mr. Norris's Books, wherein he asserts farther, Malbranche's Opinion, of seeing all Things in God. 4. The Elements of Natural Philosophy. 5. Some Thoughts concerning Reading and Study, for a Gentleman. This tract may be considered as an Appendix to his Treatise on Education. 6. Several of Mr. Locke's Familiar Letters

7. Lastly, Rules of a Society, which met once a week for their improvement.

The fifth edition of his works complete was published in 3 vols. folio, 1751.

BURNET (GILBERT,)

(Bishop of Salisbury,)

WAS born at Edinburgh, 1643. The early part of his education he received from his father; and at the age of ten years was sent to the college of Aberdeen. At the age of fourteen he commenced master of arts, after which he applied to the study of the civil law, in which he had made considerable progress, when, changing his mind, he devoted himself wholly to theology.

After visiting England, particularly the two universities, in 1663, he resolved to travel, and the year following, he went to Holland, and thence to Paris. On his return, at the close of the same year, he was chosen member of the Royal Society. In 1665, he was ordained priest, and presented to the living of Saltoun;

and it is remarkable, that he was the only clergyman in Scotland, that made use of the prayers in the liturgy of the church of England. In 1669, he was made professor of divinity at Glasgow, in which office he continued four years; and was chosen in 1673 one of his majesty's chaplains in ordinary. Two years after, he was appointed preacher at the Rolls-chapel, by sir Harbottle Grimstone, master of the rolls; and not long after, lecturer of St. Clements. In 1683, he visited Paris a second time; and again on the accession of James the Second, when he made a tour through the southern parts of France, through Italy, Switzerland, and various parts of Germany, of which countries he has given an account in his "Travels." Returning to Utrecht, he was invited to the Hague by the prince and princess of Holland; and afterwards accompanied the prince in his expedition to England, as his chaplain. His subsequent share in the conduct of the revolution is well known. On the establishment of William on the throne, Burnet was advanced to the see of Salisbury. In 1698 he was appointed preceptor to the duke of Glocester. He died in 1714-15.

The writings of this celebrated prelate are very numerous.

1. A modest and free Conference between a Conformist and a Non-conformist, 1669; in seven dialogues.

2. A Vindication of the Authority, Constitution, and Laws of the Church and State of Scotland, 1672.—This treatise is a defence of the royal prerogatives of the crown of Scotland, and the establishment of episcopacy in that kingdom, against the principles of Buchanan and his followers.

3. Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, 1676.

4. An Account of a Conference between Himself, Dr. Stillingfleet, and Coleman, 1676.

5. The History of the Reformation of the Church of England.—The first volume of this important work was published in 1679, when the affair of the popish plot was in agitation, and obtained for the author the thanks of both houses of parliament, with a request that he would prosecute the undertaking till he had finished the work. About two years after, the second volume was completed. He composed with such rapidity, that, after he had collected and arranged his materials, he composed it in

the short space of six weeks. The third volume, which is a supplement to the two former, was not published till 1714.—Of this work bishop Nicholson speaks in the following manner: "The defects of Peter Heylyn's History of the Reformation are abundantly supplied in our author's more complete history. He gives a punctual account of all the affairs of the reformation, from its beginning in the reign of Henry VIII. to its final establishment under queen Elizabeth, A. D. 1559. And the whole is penned in a masculine stile, such as becomes an historian, and is the property of this author in all his writings. The collection of records which he gives at the end of each volume, are good vouchers of the truth of what he delivers in the body of the history, and are much more perfect than could reasonably be expected, after the pains taken in queen Mary's days, to suppress every thing that carried the marks of the reformation upon it." This work was translated into most of the European languages. The author, in 1682, published an abridgment of his Histo y; in which he informs us, that he had wholly waved every thing that belonged to the records, to the proofs of what he relates, and to the confu-

tation of the falsehoods which pervade the popish historians. In the abridgment therefore, he says, every thing is to be taken upon trust; and those who require more complete satisfaction are referred to the larger work.

6. The year after finishing the printing of the first volume of the above work, or in 1680, he published, "An Account of the Life and Death of the Earl of Rochester."—Of this work Dr. Johnson passes the following high encomium. "It is a book, which the critic ought to read for its elegance, the philosopher for its arguments, and the saint for its piety. It were an injury to the reader to offer him an abridgment*."

7. The Life of Sir Matthew Hale, 1682.

8. The same year he also published, The History of the Rights of Princes, in disposing of Ecclesiastical Benefices and Church Lands; which being attacked by an Anonymous Writer, the same year he published, An Answer to the Animadversions on the History of the Rights of Princes.

9. In 1683, was edited his Translation and Examination of a Letter, writ by the last Ge-

* Johnson's Prefaces to the works of the English Poets, vol. iv. article Rochester, p. 6, 7.

neral Assembly of the Clergy of France to the Protestants, inviting them to return to their communion, &c.

10. The same year was also published his Translation of Sir Thomas More's Eutopia, with a Preface concerning the Nature of Translations.

11. The Life of Dr. William Bedell, Bishop of Kilmore in Ireland, 1685.

12. Travels through the Southern Parts of France, through Italy, Switzerland, and Parts of Germany, &c. 1687.

13. The same year was published his "Translation of Lactantius, concerning the Death of the Persecutors."

14. The bishop also wrote several pamphlets in support of the designs of the prince of Orange; and on the landing of that prince at Exeter, drew up the association for pursuing the objects of his Declaration.

15. The Pastoral Care, 1692.

16. On the death of queen Mary, in 1695, he published an "Essay on the Character of that Princess."

17. "Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England," 1699.

18. A Collection of Sermons and Pamphlets, in 3 vols. 4to. 1706.

19. An Exposition of the Church Catechism, 1710.

20. Sermons on several Occasions; with an Essay towards a new book of Homilies, 1713.

1. Dr. Gilbert Burnet's Resolution of two important Cases of Conscience: 1. Is a Woman's Barrenness a just Ground for Divorce, or for Polygamy? 2. Is Polygamy in any case lawful under the Gospel?—Both these cases are resolved in the affirmative. 1671.

2. The Mystery of Iniquity unveiled. London, 1673, 8vo.

3. An Account given by J. K. a Jesuit, of the Truth of Religion examined. London, 1674, 8vo.

4. A Rational Method for proving the Truth of the Christian Religion, as it is professed in the Church of England. Lond. 1675, 8vo.

5. A Modest Survey of the most considerable Things, in a Discourse lately published, entitled, "The Naked Truth." London, 1676, 4to.

6. A Vindication of the Ordinations of the Church of England, in answer to a Paper written by one of the church of Rome, to

prove the Nullity of our Orders. London, 1677, 8vo.

7. Preface to a book entitled, "The Life of God in the Soul of Man," &c. London, 1691, 8vo.

8. "The History of his own Time," was a posthumous work. By his last will and testament he ordered, that this history should not be printed till six years after his death. And the first volume did not appear till 1723; and the second in 1734, folio. These volumes were published by his son Thomas Burnet, esq. one of the judges of the Common Pleas, with his Life annexed.

It appears that this history was finished at the beginning of the reign of king William and queen Mary: since the date of its continuation is the 1st of May, 1705. The origin of it he states to be, that his father, who had been intimate with all parties, was accustomed to relate to him the series of public transactions; so that, at a very early age, he had obtained considerable knowledge of public affairs; that in his own subsequent intimacies with several persons, who either were or had been ministers of state, he gleaned all in his power;

and moreover, that he had found no inconsiderable quantity of materials, among the papers of the dukes of Hamilton, when writing their memoirs. Besides, he had been intimately connected, for a period of thirty years, with all who had the chief conduct of affairs, not to mention his own share in them; all of which circumstances conspired to fit him particularly for such an undertaking. And these circumstances, he says:

Made me, twenty years ago, write down a relation of all that I had known to that time. Where I was in the dark, I passed over all, and only opened those transactions, that I had particular occasions to know. My chief design in writing was to give a true view of men and of counsels, leaving public transactions to Gazettes, and the public historians of the times. I writ with a design to make both myself and my readers wiser and better, and to lay open the good and bad of all sides and parties, as clearly and impartially, as I myself understood it; concealing nothing that I thought fit to be known, and representing things in their natural colours, without art or disguise, without any regard to kindred or friends, to parties or interests: for I do solemnly say this to the world, and make my humble appeal upon it to the great God of truth, that I tell the truth on all

occasions, as fully and freely, as, upon my best enquiry, I have been able to find it out. Where things appear doubtful, I deliver them with the same uncertainty to the world.

In addition to the above works, Dr. Burnet wrote a great number of sermons, as also of other tracts. A catalogue of all his works, drawn up by Dr. Flexman, is annexed to the later editions of his "History of his own Times."

When Burnet was at the Hague in 1687, the high favour shewn him at the court of the prince of Orange, gave great umbrage to the English court, and particularly to king James, who wrote two severe letters against him to the princess of Orange, insisting, by his ambassador, that he should be forbidden the court. This was done at the king's instance, though the bishop was trusted and employed as before. Soon after, a prosecution for high treason was commenced against him, both in Scotland and in England; but the States refusing, on the demand of England, to deliver him up, schemes were laid to seize his person, and even to assassinate him. Of this affair, the bishop gives the following account:

History of his own Times.—Pages 726-7.

After I had staid a year in Holland, I heard from many hands, that the king seemed to forget his own greatness when he spoke of me, which he took occasion to do very often. I had published some account of the tour I had made, in several letters; in which my chief design was, to expose both popery and tyranny. The book was well received, and was much read; and it raised the king's displeasure very high. My continuing at the Hague made him conclude, that I was managing designs against him. And some papers in single sheets came out, reflecting on the proceedings of England, which seemed to have a considerable effect on those who read them. These were printed in Holland; and many copies of them were sent into all the parts of England; all which influenced the king the more against me: for he believed they were writ by me, as indeed most of them were. But that which gave the crisis to the king's anger was, that he heard that I was to be married to a considerable fortune at the Hague. So a project was formed to break this, by charging me with high treason, for corresponding with lord Argyle, and for conversing with some that were out-lawed for high treason. The king ordered a letter to be writ, in his name, to his advocate in Scotland, to prosecute me for some probable thing or other; which was in-

tended only to make a noise, not doubting that this would break the intended marriage. A ship coming from Scotland the day in which this prosecution was ordered, that had a quick passage, brought me the first news of it, long before it was sent to D'Albeville. So I petitioned the States, who were then sitting, to be naturalized, in order to my intended marriage. And this past in course without the least difficulty; which perhaps might have been made, if this prosecution now begun in Scotland had been known. Now, I was legally under the protection of the States of Holland. Yet I writ a full justification of myself, as to all particulars laid to my charge, in some letters that I sent to the earl of Middleton. But in one of these I said, that being now naturalized in Holland, my allegiance was, during my stay in these parts, transferred from his majesty to the States. I also said in another letter, that if upon my non-appearance a sentence should pass against me, I might perhaps be forced to justify myself, and to give an account of the share that I had in affairs these twenty years past; in which I might be led to mention some things, that I was afraid would displease the king; and therefore I should be sorry if I were driven to it. Now, the court thought they had somewhat against me: for they knew they had nothing before. So the first citation was let fall, and a new one was ordered on these two accounts: it was pretended to be high

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